

THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY

Vol 8.

1931

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ANNOUNCEMENT.

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THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

Vol 8. 1930-31, Parts I & II.

DEDICATION.

By REGINALD A. REYNOLDS.

Through the dark fury of the gale,
Victor, but not inviolate,
Toward an unknown shore I sail
The vast, unchartered, sea of Fate.

The joy that waits the journey's end
Its pain and labour glorifies :
My will, my purpose, cannot blend
When Zove has coveted the prize.

But if disaster guard the strand,
And if to meet it be my task,
A cool head and a steady hand
Is all I need, or dare to ask ;

That you, the solitary goal
Where all my aspirations meet
May know the mettle of his soul
Who dared so much for his defeat.

LETTERS FROM RUSSIA

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

I.

September 19, 1930.

Russia. A palace in a suburb of Moscow. Looking through the window I see an unbroken stretch of forest right up to the horizon. There is wave on wave of green; deep green, light green, green mixed with purple, green with an yellowish glow. Away beyond, stands a village with its line of huts. It is nearly ten in the morning. Clouds pile on clouds, there is no rain, but the sky is busy with its pompous announcement; the tops of the slender poplars are swaying to gusts of wind.

The name of the hotel where I put up during the few days that I was in Moscow is the Grand Hotel. It occupies an immense building which is in a most wretched condition, not unlike that of a millionaire's son gone bankrupt. The trimmings and trappings have been partly sold off; what remain badly require mending and washing—luxuries forbidden in the present destitution. It is the same all over the town. The splendour of old still shines through the extreme squalor, like a pair of gold sleeve-links on a tattered shirt, or a dress of fine muslin disfigured by patches of coarse darning.

Nowhere else in Europe does one come across such utter desolation. Everywhere else, due to the sharp distinction between the rich and the poor, wealth looms prominently before the eye in its massed grandeur, and poverty lurks in the background where everything is disorderly, squalid, unhealthy, dark with misery and destitution and sin. To us, outsiders, in our fleeting view, everything seems so nice, so neat, so prosperous. Were this prosperity to be evenly distributed the fact would be painfully brought home that there is not sufficient food and

clothing for every one. In Russia, because there is no distinction, wealth has been stripped of its glamour, and poverty is no longer ugly—it is just sheer destitution.

Nothing but scarcity. This is the first impression of Russia, a land where wealth is entirely absent. In other countries there are the masses; in Russia only the masses are. All manner of men pass along the streets of Moscow, among them there is not one who is elegantly dressed. The fact seems obvious that the leisured class is no more; everybody now must work for his living.

There is not the slightest suggestion of luxury anywhere. I had been to see a gentleman of the name of Dr. Petroff, who is a high official and a person of considerable standing in Moscow. He has his office in a building which was once the home of a wealthy man. But there was a minimum of furniture in the room where I was received, of outward refinement there was not a trace. A most ordinary-looking table stood in a corner of the uncarpeted floor. That was all. The whole place seemed to have put on mourning—there was no obligation of appearing correctly dressed in public, no need of decorum. The service at my hotel is far from what one is led to expect by its pretentious title—The Grand Hotel. But there is no air of apology about it; conditions are no better elsewhere.

All this reminds me of the days of my childhood. How modest our style of living was judged by present-day standards. But we were never ashamed of it, because there was no acute difference between high and low—the same plain living was the rule everywhere. What difference there was, was purely cultural, relating, that is, to such things as music, learning, etc. There were also differences in family tradition, which found expression in distinctiveness of speech, manners and conduct. But our food, our dress, the paraphernalia of our life generally, were simple, and would probably excite the contempt of ordinary middle-class people of to-day.

• The class consciousness that wealth creates has been imported into our country from the West. At one time in our country salary-earners and businessmen with their pockets filled with newly earned money took to exotic luxuries which became

the fashion. Since then the scale of one's outfit has been the sole measure of one's social position. That explains why to-day in our country the distinction that money confers outshines everything else—birth, breeding, culture. The honour which accompanies monetary distinction is man's greatest dishonour, and we must be on our guard lest the vulgarity of it taint our lives at the very core.

What appeals to me most in Russia is that nowhere there is the slightest trace of this vulgarity, snobbery has disappeared altogether. In one instant the common people have been awakened to an unrestrained realization of their self-respect. It fills my heart with wonder and joy to find that everybody, today, peasant or workman, carries his head high, no longer borne down by the weight of humiliation.

I have so much more to write about. But just now I must have rest. So I will recline in the long chair opposite the window, tuck my legs up in a rug, and then, if my eyes are heavy with sleep, I will make no heroic attempt to keep them open.

II.

September 20, 1930.

In Russia at last. Everything seems wonderful, not in the least like what we see in other countries. There is a difference at the very root of things. Everybody here, from top to bottom, has been roused to a sense of absolute equality. There has always been in human civilization a set of men—they are the majority—who remain in the background. It is their business to carry others. Having no time to cultivate humanity, brought up on the refuse of the country's wealth, least fed, least clothed, least educated, they serve the rest. Their toil is hardest, their indignity greatest. Every now and then, they die of disease, they die of starvation, they all but die of injuries and insults hurled on them from those above. They are deprived of every necessity, every comfort, of life. They are the lampstands of civilization; standing erect, they support on their heads lamps lighted with oil: the people above get the light, the oil trickles

down their bodies. I have often thought about them, but no remedy has suggested itself to me. Unless some are at the bottom, others cannot be at the top. And, surely, some needs must be at the top, for, otherwise, men will never see beyond their immediate surroundings. Man's humanity does not consist in the mere earning of a livelihood; civilization is in the transcendence of this compelling need. It is in fields of leisure that civilization's richest crops have been cultivated. Therefore, there is need of preserving leisure as an integral feature of civilization. And so, I had always thought that we should promote as best as we can the education, health and happiness of those that are compelled to work at the bottom not by the force of circumstance only, but by the very disposition of their minds and bodies.

The difficulty is that nothing permanent can be achieved by charity. The good that one would do from outside baulks itself at every step. It is only on a basis of equality that true help can be rendered. However, I could never reach a satisfying conclusion. Yet, it is mortifying to accept it as inevitable that civilization will maintain its lofty standard only by degrading a majority of men to a sub-human level. Just think how England prospers by starving India. Many people in England have an idea that in supporting England lies the fulfilment of India's destiny. In order that England may achieve greatness, it is perfectly justified, they think, that a nation should be kept in perpetual slavery. What does it matter if this subject nation is ill-fed and ill-clad? Yet sometimes they will generously concede that something should be done to improve its conditions of life. But over a hundred years has brought us neither education, nor health, nor wealth. Things are no better even where a country's internal affairs are concerned. Unless you can respect a man you can never do him any good; at any rate, a clash of interests will always lead to blows and bloodshed.

In Russia an attempt is being made to solve this problem at the very base. It is too early yet to judge of its results, but what I see even now fills me with admiration. Education is the high road along which we must seek the solution of all our problems. So far, a majority of men the world over have been

denied full opportunities for education; in India, of nearly all opportunities. It makes one marvel, therefore, to see the splendid enterprise with which education is being carried to every corner of the country in Russia. The measure of education is not in numbers only, but also in the degree of its completeness and of its power. What an elaborate organization, what vast enterprise, that no man may remain helpless and workless! Fast as a spate, they are spreading education, not in White Russia only, but among the half-civilized peoples of Central Asia, too, sparing no pains to place in their hands the latest fruits of science.

Huge crowds fill the theatres here whenever a good opera or a famous play is on the programme: it is the peasants and workers who make up these crowds. No disrespect for them anywhere. I have visited only a few institutions so far, but everywhere I have been struck by their awakening of mind, their delight in the sense of self-respect. What a difference with the labouring classes in England, let alone the masses in India!

Here they are doing efficiently over an entire country what we have attempted on the smallest scale at Sriniketan. Every day I compare conditions here with those in India and I am led to think of where we are and where we might have been. India, diseased, starving, utterly helpless, how immeasurably far behind does she linger! Only a few years ago the conditions of the masses in Russia were exactly similar to the conditions of the masses in India. But in the short period since then things have moved rapidly here, while we are still rotting in the quagmire of our inertia, stuck fast up to the chin.

Not that the system here is absolutely perfect. It has its serious flaw which will one day bring about a catastrophe. Briefly, the flaw is that they have made a mould of the system of education. But character cast in a mould never endures. If the law of man's dynamic mind clashes with the principle of his educational theory, then either the mould will be shattered to bits, or man's mind will be cramped and atrophied or, worse still, be reduced to an automaton.

We have to remember that our real field of work is

Sriniketan. We must contrive to make our educational system complete in every respect. No smattering will do: science should be taught from the very first, specially applied science. When our electric plants are installed, our boys must train themselves by helping to work them. They should also serve, by turns, as apprentices in the printing press we have at Santiniketan, and learn all about motor driving and automobile engineering, too. The hands of our youths are good for no work except wielding the pen; they must be cured of this by constant handling of machinery. The theory of co-operation should be made the main item in the curriculum and physiology, the next.

In Russia, boys are entrusted with responsible work, in groups. I found different groups in charge of different kinds of work, in connexion with residential arrangements, health, stores, etc. There is only a supervisor, otherwise the management is entirely in the hands of the boys. I have all along tried to introduce this system in Santiniketan, but nothing more concrete has been achieved than framing rules. One of the reasons is that success at the examination has always been the obsession of the department of study; everything else is secondary.

Our idle minds hardly relish the idea of doing any work beyond what we must do. Besides, brought up exclusively on text-books from childhood, our teachers are utterly helpless when faced with anything that lies outside of the printed page. So there is no use in framing rules, for when those who frame them are insincere, the rules are sure to be disregarded.

In regard to rural work and the system of education there is nothing here which I had not thought about. Only, there is energy, there is initiative, and there is the wonderful practical wisdom of the organisers. I think a great deal depends on physical strength. It is impossible to work with full vigour when the body is undermined by malaria and mal-nutrition. Here in this cold climate progress in work is rapid because the people are hardier. Perhaps it would not be fair to estimate the number of workers in our country by a count of heads, for nobody is a whole man.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN RUSSIA.

An Account of the Poet's Visit to Moscow.

Edited by P. C. MAHALANOBIS.

For a long time Rabindranth Tagore had been anxious to visit Russia. In 1926 he received an invitation from the Soviet Government, but was taken seriously ill with influenza at Vienna towards the end of October. It was already late autumn, and news of an early winter were coming in from all sides; Vienna itself was under snow. Dr. Wenkebach had strictly forbidden all visitors, but the poet managed one day to smuggle into his bed room a representative of the Soviet Government, and made all arrangements to go to Moscow. It was with the greatest difficulty that he was finally persuaded to give up the idea. In 1929 on his way back from Canada he intended to go across Russia by the Trans-Siberian Railway, but unfortunately ill health again prevented him from doing so.

Arrival in Moscow.

This year his long felt desire was fulfilled, and on the 11th September, 1930, he arrived in Moscow*, accompanied by Dr. Harry Timbres, Miss Margaret Einstein of Berlin, the Poet's grand-nephew Soumyendranath Tagore, and his secretaries Mr. Ariam Williams and Mr. A. C. Chakravarti. The Poet was received at the White-Russian Baltic Station by the representative of the USSR Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries: D. Novomirsky, Chief, Anglo-American Section; A. Eshukoff, Chief, Exhibition Department, and M. Dobin, Chief, Foreign Reception Bureau, and by prominent members of the Moscow Writers Association such as the author Alexiev, the eminent constructivist poetess Vera Inber and others.

*The present account is based on the diary and notes of conversations kept by Dr. Harry Timbres and the Poet's own letters from Russia. We regret it has not been possible to have this article checked by Dr. Timbres or any other member of the Poet's party.

Reception at VOKS (Society for Cultural Relations).

A reception was arranged at 12 noon on Friday, the 12th September in the VOKS-building. Prof. F. N. Petroff, President of the Society, explained the aims and objects of the new experiments in Russia. The following notes of the conversation will give some idea of the topics discussed by the Poet.

Conversation at the VOKS-reception.

Petroff.—Please excuse me for my inability to speak your language. I am glad to welcome you to our country. It is a great inspiration to us that you take such interest in our new order of civilization in the Soviet Union.

Tagore.—I thank you for your cordial welcome. I know you are making a tremendous experiment in this country. I am not in a position to give any considered opinion about it, but I cannot help expressing my admiration for your courage, for your keen enthusiasm to build up your social structure on the equitable basis of human freedom. It is wonderful to feel that you are interested not merely in your national problems but in the good of humanity as a whole.

Petroff.—This rebuilding of society on a basis of equality is an inevitable consequence of the abundance of tribes and castes in Russia. We have had to deal with this baffling problem of heterogeneity all through our history. The attempt to realize that our differences are negligible in the light of a common need and a common urge of civilization has imparted a great enthusiasm to all our workers, and we fervently believe that we shall be able to offer definite solutions to many of the outstanding problems which have troubled humanity in the past.

Tagore.—By offering education to vast multitudes of your people who were kept imprisoned in the darkness of ignorance, millions of human beings who never got any chance to realize their humanity, and were obliged to yield to exploitation and oppression in order to preserve their precarious existence, you have made an invaluable contribution to human progress. You are creating a new world of humanity, and for the first time in

history, acknowledging the dignity of man in your scheme of practical work.

Petroff.—We believe, however, that the spread of mass education can only be possible under suitable economic conditions. It is because we could gain full control of the economic resources of Russia that we have been able to spend so much for education and for various forms of cultural work that have now been introduced for the first time in a vast agricultural country.

Tagore.—That is true. No aspect of life can in reality be deducted from another. Education is necessarily connected with economic problems.

Petroff.—After gaining economic control, our first care has been to educate children before they go to school. We bring them up from their very first days in a properly organized social environment, which itself is at once the basis and the superstructure of all educational systems. Nor do we neglect the parents of the children; we carry on a vigorous educational movement among adults. In this way we hope to develop a new race of men with a free and independent outlook co-operating for the mutual good of society as a whole.

Tagore.—Don't you believe that much of what you do today has behind it the accumulated forces of active reaction against the oppressive regime of the past government? It is wonderful that this reaction should have been translated into higher forms of activity and not been dissipated in mere retaliatory politics. You have, of course, as I am sure you will freely admit, made grievous mistakes at the time of your first accession to power, but the sense of responsibility that this power brought along with it has quickly given you a full sense of reality, and you seem to lose no opportunity now of merging your racial individualities into a harmonious social existence. I, as an educationist, am concerned vitally with all the great movements you have initiated for the good of the peasant masses. As you know, our country, like yours, is an agricultural one, and we have amongst our peasantry all the obstacles of ignorance, of bigotry, and superstition that you have already overcome to a great extent with the help of education. If we can learn from

your experiences in this line, we shall be able to grapple with rural problems in India in an efficient manner.

Petroff.—Our first educational weapon is to launch an intensive campaign in the villages directed to make the peasants conscious of their own dignity, of their inherent rights of which they had been deprived for so long, and of all the possibilities that lie open to them. We are not ashamed to be propagandists, and our propaganda itself is educative. It is scientific, it is human, it is moral, and carries all the fervour of social service that we are capable of igniting in our minds and hearts.

Whatever line of work we undertake to-day has always the welfare of the people as its direct inspiration. We do not want to enjoy any exclusive privileges at all, because that kind of enjoyment is anti-social and therefore non-human, perhaps even inhuman. All the store-houses of wisdom, of joy, of well-ordered social benefits are open to every one of us, because every one of us has equal human rights to them.

Tagore.—I have come to study your educational methods, to draw strength from the atmosphere of creative efforts which surrounds you. I have my educational colony in India which is linked up with the surrounding villages. With meagre means I and my colleagues there try our best to serve our neighbours, to invite them to our festivals, to supply them with medicine, to demonstrate to them the efficiency of up-to-date methods of agriculture. Whatever you can show me, therefore, of your educational work will be of very great use to me indeed. I wish I had more time and energy to study your work properly, but I shall do all that I can to utilize my visit to your country.

Petroff.—Sir, your name is known and loved by the whole country of Russia. We have over 25 current volumes of your works, and a vast public reads them. We shall be only too happy and proud to show you whatever you want to see of our work, and we feel sure you will appreciate our educational activities.

Concert at the Federation of Soviet Writers, Moscow.

On the evening of the same day a concert was arranged jointly by the VOKS and the Moscow Association of Writers in honour of Rabindranath Tagore at the Club House of the Association. Among those present were Prof. P. S. Kogan (President of the Academy of Arts); Prof. Pinkevitch (Director of the Second Moscow State University); Albert Rhys Williams, the writer, Madame Litvinova, and a number of eminent Soviet writers such as Ognied (author of *Diary of Kostya*, *Ryaptseva*, *Life of a Soviet School boy*), Vera Inber, Fedor Gladkov (who wrote the much-talked-of "Cement"); Eseev (poet, a former futurist and close adherent of Vladimir Mayakovsky) and others.

Speech of Welcome.

Prof. Petroff opened the proceedings with the following speech of welcome :

Representatives of Soviet public life, art and science see among them to-day Rabindranath Tagore, one of the greatest of living poets and thinkers.

Rabindranath Tagore is one of those men who have followed with the closest attention and interest the great events developing during the last ten years in the history of humanity. It is obvious that one so gifted with spiritual and poetic insight could not have gone away without seeing this most important page of human history, that page which bears the name of the Great October Revolution.

We, who have taken part in the October Revolution and assisted at the construction of new forms of human culture, extend a warm welcome to one who has come amongst us, as a profound thinker, to study our culture, to study our strivings for the renewal of human society, and thus of human personality itself.

Rabindranath Tagore is an active worker on the forefront of popular education, as well as a poet and a thinker. He is endeavouring, in the educational institution founded by himself in Santiniketan (near Calcutta), to solve problems regarding the formation of human personality. This branch of work occupies an important place in his activities and makes great demands upon his energy and strength. He has come here to learn about the endeavours of our country, to understand how in new and revo-

lutionary conditions, the human personality, destined to advance human progress in economic, in social and in cultural conditions which are all new, expands and formulates. Rabindranath Tagore wishes to understand how the human personality can in the conditions of socialist reconstruction, perfect itself and become a veritable creative force in the spheres of art, science, and in human progress of every description.

We welcome the visits of friends who come with an open heart and a pure soul to our country to study our efforts, to try and understand the aspirations of the masses towards a new human life, a new and free system for the perfection of human nature.

Many are the lies which have been spoken and written about us, and monstrous are the rumours industriously spread abroad. There are many who say that culture is languishing in our country, and others that culture has perished altogether in Soviet Russia. It is also said that that the Bolsheviks, after accomplishing the greatest revolution in the world, have been unable to cope with the problems thence arising, and have been unable to substitute that which they have destroyed with something else of equal value.

We have only one answer to all this: come and see for yourself, and meditate upon what we are doing, try to understand our aspirations, study our achievements—not only in the spheres of economics, of construction, of industry and agriculture—but our achievements in the solution of the most subtle problems of human creation in the spheres of pedagogics, of art, of poetry and of the science of social life. Realize the special feature introduced into this creative work when the collective, the massed, the emancipated people came forward to replace the isolated aspirations of the individual, with the whole collective force of goodwill of their national creative powers.

Our Soviet culture is of interest at the present stage of revolutionary creation inasmuch as, emancipating both materially and spiritually the many races inhabiting the USSR, it has enabled the million-strong masses of the backward peoples, as well as the toilers of Russian extraction, to apply their powers and their energy to the progress of all humanity, and these backward peoples are now taking the most active part in that historical movement which we, in our country, call socialistic construction. Anyone who has seen the Uzbek theatre and heard Turkoman music, anyone acquainted with the creative manifestations of our Caucasian people, and with the achievements in art and science in the Ukraine, must realize that

the problems of mass culture are solved in our country, not by one, but by many nationalities, by the numerous races in the USSR who are progressing, in their own national forms, towards the creation of an international, free proletarian culture. This in itself is bound to make an impression upon all peoples aspiring towards liberation. All the peoples and races beyond the territory of the USSR are following with profound attention and interest the way in which the USSR peoples, liberated from the Tsarist regime and the yoke of a religious police system, and proceeding towards free creative work in new, in socialist economic conditions, are living and carrying out their affairs.

We believe that our friend, Rabindranath Tagore, who has come to visit us, will approach our intellectual processes and endeavour to understand what is going on in our country, with that serious thoughtfulness which he has shown in all his creative work. We rejoice when a great personality of the contemporary historical moment, such as Tagore, comes to us in true fellowship and speaks with perfect frankness of what he has seen and felt in our Union.

Permit me in the name of VOKS, whose only aim is to demonstrate to the whole world, as impartially, vividly and fairly as possible, all that is going on in our Union, to welcome you; permit me, as a member of the representatives of science and in the name of the representatives of the artistic circles grouped around our Society, to welcome you as a close friend, and to hope that you will understand us and express in fairness and justice your opinion of our socialistic reconstruction to the whole world.

He was followed by Profs. Kogan and Pinkevitch and by the Soviet author Shaklar, the latter speaking on behalf of the Moscow Writers Association.

Rabindranath Tagore spoke a few words in reply.

Reply by Rabindranath Tagore.

I thank you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to your country and also to this feast this evening when I have the opportunity of meeting with some of the greatest representatives of intellectual life in your country. Unfortunately, I do not understand your language, and the language in which I am speaking is neither yours nor mine. I will therefore be brief.

I have come to this country to learn. I want to know how you are solving in your country the great problem, the world

problem of civilization. Civilization to-day has taken man far away from his normal humanity. It has torn individual personality away from society. Modern civilization has given birth to an extraordinarily artificial life; it has created diseases, evoked specific sufferings and given rise to many anomalies. I do not know what ought to be done to cure modern civilization of its ills. I do not know if the path you have chosen in this country for the solution of this problem is the right one. History will judge the extent to which you have been successful. I do not wish to criticize you. I am filled with enthusiasm for the way in which you have, for the first time, afforded to all, the opportunity of acquiring education. For this I would applaud you. I am myself profoundly interested in problems of education. My idea, my dream, has been to create free human beings who should be surrounded by an environment of creative work. Under modern civilization the human personality is imprisoned in a cage, shut off from the rest of society. In your country you have put an end to this evil. I have heard from many and am beginning myself to be convinced, that your ideas are very much like my own dream for a full life for the individual, for complete education. In your country you are not only giving the individuals scientific education, you are making of him a creative personality. In this way you are realizing the greatest, the highest ideal of humanity. For the first time in history you are giving the hidden wealth of the human mind a chance to express itself. I thank you for this from my heart.

I myself have been working in my own way in my own institutions, and my idea of education is that it should be imparted in contact with life itself; it should be a part of life. By living a true life one can have proper education, and not through the complete withdrawal from the realities of life which you so often see in the colleges and schools in the civilized world, those brick-built prisons in which children are denied the true goods of life.

Since I have come to this place I have been able to realize that your ideal of education is very similar to mine, that the people are living a complete life through which their mind is prepared to receive education in its full richness and not merely hoard up isolated facts of scientific instruction or information. You have

been stimulating the people's mind for creative work which is the highest privilege of man. It has not been possible for me to give effect to this idea in an adequate manner in my own institutions. In this country you have been able to give it a proper form, and you have succeeded in giving the movement a great impetus. I realize that it will be an immortal gift to humanity from your country, this idea of education for everybody.

I can only thank you in these few brief words. I am still waiting to see in detail something of the work of education which you are carrying out in your various institutions. Unfortunately, I have very little time to spare, and also I cannot forget the fact, I am reminded of it every day—that I am no longer young. Yet I hope I shall be able to see something which I can carry back to my own land in my memory and which will help us in our own work. I offer you my heartiest thanks for giving me this great opportunity to learn from you about your pioneer work in the field of people's education.

Musical Recital.

The following artists participated in the concert :

Tsiganov, a young talented violinist, 26 years of age, gave a recital of Gluck, Schubert and some Hungarian national folk songs. The baritone, Sedomov, sang Russian folk-songs and a piece from the new Soviet Opera "Son of the Sun." The famous Soviet harp-player, Miss Erdely, who is an Artist Emeritus of the Republic, gave a recital of the famous Russian folk-song 'Volga' and the 'Ario' from Faust. Barsova, Artist Emeritus of the Republic (Soprano) and a leading singer at the Large Moscow Opera House, sang pieces from different operas. A group of Eastern singers and dancers exhibited the musical art of the Caucasian Republics, and the folk-dancing and songs of the Daghestan Republic (the well-known "Lezginka").

The First Pioneer Commune.

On the evening of the 14th September the Poet visited the first Pioneer Commune, Isigansky Ploschand, Iovarischsky Pereulok, No. 25, Moscow.

On reaching the staircase of the Commune Building the Poet was greeted by pioneer songs, the boys and girls standing in line on both sides of the steps and joining in the chorus. After the Poet had taken his seat in the central hall, a young pioneer girl of fourteen read a message of welcome in English.

Reply to address of welcome.

The Poet speaking a few words in reply, said :

My friends, I am deeply touched by the warm welcome you have accorded to me. As I look at your bright young faces full of hope and a glorious fortune, I feel stirred to my depths and know that the purpose of my visit to Russia is realized. For, believe me, I have come here, not so much to see what you have done and are doing now, which is great, but to visualize the future which you are creating with such fervour for the welfare of the whole of humanity. In every country I visit I want to come in close touch with the young who have the great privilege of looking ahead and of building up with their lives the basis of a new order of civilization. You know I am a poet, and my work is to give expression to living impulses and youthful hopes, and so I can be one with you to-day in your dreams of the future.

Besides this, I can come close to you because I have spent a great part of my life with children. I have my school in Bengal where I live with them, and where I try to bring them up in an atmosphere of complete life. My idea is to provide them with all possible opportunities for the development of a creative life, and I trust them in their free initiative to make the best use of them.

I believe in freedom, in that freedom which naturally takes upon itself responsibilities in order to express adequately the deeper human impulses of love and service. I have given this freedom to the children of my school, and I am interested to know

how you young pioneers are using the freedom you possess for the good of your community and what methods you follow to give expression to the ideal of the new age which you have realized in your country. I hope this evening to know in detail about your work and your way of life.

I thank you warmly for your reception, and I assure you that I feel very happy indeed to be here with you this evening.

Talk with the Children.

The children gathered round the poet with eager faces and wanted to hear from him about his school in India, and to tell him about their own experiences in the Pioneer Commune which they felt proud to be able to manage by their own efforts.

As soon as the Poet finished a chorus of voices rose, several students wanting at once to answer some of the questions raised by the Poet's speech.

A boy.—Yes, we believe in the good of the Community, we are Communists. The bourgeoisie want their individual profit, but we want that all people should have an equal chance to prosper, and here in this school we want to live in that spirit.

A Girl.—Our freedom is in our own hands, not in the hands of elders, therefore we can consult each other and find out what are the best things all of us want to have.

Another boy.—I will explain it in this way. We pioneers try to show in this school in a small way how the whole country can prosper by not listening to the few powerful autocrats at the top, but by following their own friendly wishes. Here we can make mistakes, and then if we want we can ask for help and advice of those who are older than us, but we try first to do everything ourselves. The younger boys and girls amongst us can consult, if they like, the older boys and girls, and they in their turn can approach those of a higher group and so on till we reach the teachers. Our country has a similar ideal, and we are pioneers to prove the efficiency of this method.

Girl X.—We have no punishments because we punish ourselves, and then punishment becomes something else; nobody minds it.

Tagore.—I want to know more in detail about it. Supposing some one of you has done something wrong, what do you do to make him understand the nature of his offence, and to check his making a similar offence in future? Do you call a special meeting to try the offender, and do you appoint judges from amongst yourselves to conduct the trial? If you find the person guilty of the offence attributed to him, do you inflict any punishment upon him?

Several students rose up at the same time to answer the question. They were each given a chance one after another to express their opinions.

Girl A.—We have no punishment. The trial itself is the punishment. And if the person is found innocent, why he has no punishment at all.

Boy B.—That is to say, he is sorry and we are sorry that all this trial was for nothing—but that cannot be helped.

Tagore.—But does it never happen that the person accused challenges the powers of judgment of the judges themselves—what opportunity does he possess to appeal to a higher authority if he is not pleased with the trial?

Boy B.—If there is a difficulty in coming to a favourable decision we have to take votes, and the person accused has to abide by the opinion of the majority.

Tagore.—What if the person accused happens to differ from the findings of the majority?

The students were puzzled for a time. One girl got up and said :—Perhaps then we shall ask the teacher. The truth is, such a case has never happened here at all!

Boy B.—I shall answer it thus. We do not commit wrongs, because we are chosen pioneers, and we have to know beforehand what is right for us to do and what we should avoid.

The Interpreter.—The pioneers are chosen from orphanages, they have to show special gifts in order to be admitted to the Pioneers' Commune.

Tagore.—I understand what you mean—the atmosphere of your Community is itself a good check on possibilities of wrongdoing on the part of its members, and it is this moral atmosphere again which makes the members realize in their own minds the

wrongness of any offence made against the spirit of the Community life.

Now I want to know from you something about the work you are doing here.

Several boys and girls got up to answer.

A boy.—We are unlike the bourgeois scouts. They want reward, they want military honours, they want everything for themselves individually, not for the good of every one. We pioneers want nothing for ourselves. Whatever good we do for everybody is also of benefit to us. We go to the villages to teach people how to live in a clean manner, we show them the right way of doing things. We go and live with them at times, we perform plays and we tell them all about the conditions of our country, how they were before, how they are now, and what will be the future if we work properly.

Girl B.—We shall show you how we sometimes give the play and the talk together to make it all both interesting and helpful to the people. We shall act a “living newspaper” for you. We pioneers have to learn such informations so that we can know things ourselves and can therefore also make others know about them. It is only when all of us know facts truly and think upon them that we can do some real work.

Boy X.—We know all this from books, from our teachers, and we have to discuss first with each other what we have learnt before we are allowed to go out and tell people about them.

Tagore.—You will be interested to know that we have in our school *Brati-balakas* and *Brati-balikas*, two organizations for boys and girls which are like yours. I do not believe in Boy Scouts and Girl Guides organizations because they have to take all kinds of oaths, and then, as you say, there are amongst those organizations some wrong notions of a military kind. Our boys and girls go out to serve the villagers, to put out fire when fire breaks out in the neighbourhood, they distribute medicine, they show the villagers how to live properly and well. I am very happy indeed to know that you enjoy doing service of this kind because, as you say, by helping the village people you are helping yourselves, you are serving the whole country.

I would like to know now something about your daily life inside the school.

The School Programme.

Their daily routine appeared to be as follows. Get up from bed—7 a.m.; exercise,—7.15; breakfast,—7.30. Classes begin after breakfast, and continue till 3 p.m. with a break at 1 o'clock for lunch.

The subjects of study include history, geography, mathematics, elementary physics, elementary chemistry, elementary biology, mechanics, politics, sociology, literature, manual training, carpentry, bookbinding, handling modern agricultural implements, etc.

There are no Sundays, and every fifth day is a holiday. After 3 p.m. the pioneers go out to visit factories, hospitals, business centres, villages, etc., according to programme. Excursion tours in the country are arranged for. Plays are acted occasionally and visits to theatres and cinemas organized.

In the evening there are story-reading, story-telling, discussion circles, literary and scientific meetings. On holidays the pioneers have to attend to their own laundry, tidy up their rooms, attend to the cleanliness of the house and grounds, and do extra reading or go out on long walks to the villages.

The age of admittance is usually 7, sometimes 8, but this rule is not strictly observed; students leave at the age of sixteen or even earlier. Co-education is followed throughout, and boys and girls share the same dormitories.

"The Living Newspaper."

The pioneers then acted a play called "The Living Newspaper", the theme being the Five Years Plan. The play depicted graphically the different social and economic stages through which the Soviet Union has recently passed, the effect of the introduction of machinery, the rapid benefits of industrialization, the results of collective control and distribution of goods to the Community.

The Pioneers said they took up different subjects for their performance of the "Living Newspaper," sometimes including topics regarding other countries like China, India, Germany, etc. Their purpose is to supply to the public accurate information about everyday life in an interesting manner.

After the performance the young Pioneers again gathered round the Poet and requested him to recite some of his Bengali verses. He gave them a song he had written years ago : "Jana Gana Mana Adhinayaka." One of the young poets of the Commune then recited a poem he had composed specially for this evening in the Russian Language.

After some light refreshment, the Poet again thanked the young Pioneers for their warm hospitality and expressed his genuine appreciation of the atmosphere of Community life which he found in the Pioneers' Commune, and he wished them a future of greater fulfilment.

As the Poet came down the steps to his car the whole Commune sang together two pioneer songs and requested him to come to see them again on his next visit to Russia.

Visit to the Cinema Union.

In the evening of the 15th September, the Poet and his party visited the Amalgamated Cinema Union and were received by M. Rutin, President of the Cinema Union.

The Poet was shown portions of the Russian film "Warshin Potemkin" and some portions of the Russian film "Old and New." These productions were directed by S. Eisenstein. Later the members of the Cinema Board had a conversation with the Poet regarding his new film-stories of which they had heard. They were deeply impressed by the short versions of the stories by the Poet, and they decided to meet him at the Hotel and discuss in detail the possibilities of filming his stories.

The Central Peasant's House.

On the morning of the 16th September the Poet visited the Central Peasants' House.

These Houses which are used also as clubs are scattered all over the country, in cities, towns and villages. They carry on a great deal of cultural, social and educational work among the peasant masses. In these Houses are organized lectures on various agricultural and social topics, groups are formed to do away with illiteracy, and special classes are held to impart to the peasants practical knowledge of scientific methods of working the land. Each of these Houses is furnished with Museums of Natural History, of the Origin and Growth of Religion, of Agriculture and of Social Welfare. Consultation Bureaux are also established in these Houses on a variety of subjects, such as Agriculture, Taxation, etc.

Peasants arriving in town are put up temporarily at these Houses (for the period of from one night to three weeks) at a very low charge (25 kopecks, about six annas, per night). They are assisted by the Consultation Bureaux to solve the difficulties connected with their village life. By means of these Peasant Houses the Soviet Government is carrying on a tremendous amount of work among the widest strata of the onetime illiterate peasants, transforming their life into one of rich civic responsibility with a new social order as its basis.

Reception by the Peasants.

On his arrival at the Central Peasants' House Rabindranath Tagore was received in the main clubroom by the Superintendent of the House, the House Council, and some 150 peasants who were boarding there at the time, representatives from the nearest and the far-distant points of the Soviet Union.

The small meeting of welcome that followed was opened by the Superintendent who explained to the peasants that the Poet had come to visit them in order personally to meet them and to learn about them. The Superintendent welcomed the Poet on behalf of the assembled peasants, and hoped that this first meeting between the great Indian Poet and the Soviet peasants

would lay the foundation for a still deeper contact between the peasant masses of both countries.

In his brief reply the Poet emphasized the importance and significance of the strenuous work being carried on by the peasants and workers of the Soviet Republic in the building up of a new life, a new humanity. He expressed his admiration for the great spirit of good will which inspired this new effort, this great undertaking which demanded the utmost self-sacrifice and self-denial on the part of the Soviet population.

Talk with the Peasants.

A number of questions were then put to the Poet, and he answered them to the full satisfaction of his audience.

Question : What is the position of the National Policy in India to-day and what is the reason for the strife between Hindus and Mussalmans?

Tagore : I find from personal observations that this strife has been going on for the past twenty-five years only. Before this period there was, as far as I can recall—and I have lived for many years in the village—no such animosity and enmity between them. I am certain that this strife has been accentuated by the overwhelming ignorance and illiteracy of the Indian peasants. These feelings of religious hostility can, in my opinion, be liquidated only by the introduction of mass education. The possibility of educating the masses, unfortunately, does not exist to-day in India.

Question : Have you written anything about the peasants in your works, and what are your views regarding the future of the Indian peasants?

Tagore : Not only have I written about peasants but I am working among them, endeavouring, as far as I can, to educate them. I am not only educating children in my schools, but also carrying on this work in the surrounding villages. This work is, of course, of a modest nature in comparison with the gigantic educational work that is being carried on in the Soviet Union.

Question : What is your opinion of the collectivization that is being developed in this country?

Tagore: I realize the great importance of this work (collectivization) that is being carried out by the peasants, but I cannot answer this question as, unfortunately, I know very little about it. Lack of knowledge of how this problem is being solved in the Soviet Union is one of the chief reasons of my visit to your country.

Question: What is known in India concerning our collectivization and about the work of our country generally?

Tagore: Unfortunately, very little, as the existing press in India as well as in other countries is reticent and untrustworthy about all facts concerning your country.

Question: Had you heard before of the existence of the Peasants' Houses and of their work?

Tagore: No, only since my coming to Moscow have I learned of the existence of these welfare centres for the peasants.

Now I would like to hear from the peasants at this meeting of their own opinion about Collectivization and its full significance for the agricultural population.

A young Ukrainian peasant of the name of Semenchiko, about 32 years of age, replied: "I am working on a Collective Farm which was organized two years ago. Our Collective Farm consists of big gardens from which we supply canning factories with vegetables and wheat. We have an 8-hour working day and each fifth day is a holiday." (The 5-day week is now introduced throughout the country and works under the name of "the uninterrupted working week").

"The average crop is twice as large as that of any of the neighbouring individual peasants. In the beginning about 150 individual farms were merged into the common unit. In the spring of 1929, half of them left us owing to faulty understanding and misguided application of the instructions given by Comrade Stalin (the General Secretary of the All-Union Communist Party). He had emphasized that the fundamental principle of collectivization was *Voluntary Social participation* in the organization of these collective farms. This basic principle was not correctly understood in a number of rural areas, and due to its inadequate application and the resulting

bureaucratic mistakes, many peasants withdrew from the collective farms. But now, owing to supplementary explanations and the courageous efforts of the remaining collectivist, about a fourth of those that had left have returned. And to-day we are stronger than ever. We are building new living houses for our members, a new dining-hall and a school."

On this same question further information was advanced by a peasant woman from Siberia. She had been a member of a Commune Farm for ten years. She asked the Poet to bear in mind the intimate connexion between the women's movement and the Collective Farms. She explained how the woman of to-day is more self-reliant than her sisters of even a decade ago. She said: "We have specially organized brigades of women collectivists which travel from one part of the country to the other working among the women, rousing them up, and pointing out to them in detail the economic and cultural advantages of collectivization. In order to lighten the strenuous life of the women collectivists in their farm work, and with a view to making their status truly equal to that of their men comrades, there are in every Collective Farm a nursery, a kindergarten, and a communal kitchen."

A farm-labourer from the famous State Farm (Sovkhoz) "Gigant" also described how the collectivist idea is being realized in Russia. "This farm embraces 100,000 hectare† of farm land. Last year, we had 3,000 workers. This year that figure will slightly decrease although the output per man will increase. This is due to the introduction of advanced methods of agriculture such as scientific manuring, the use of tractors and other machinery. We have now more than 300 tractors. We also have an 8-hour working day. Those of us who work longer receive overtime allowances. During the winter months when there is insufficient work for all the workers, some two-thirds of them are permitted to leave the farm to seek work in the cities (building, road-mending etc.). During their period of work in the towns they will receive one-third of their summer

† 1 hectare=2.47 acres approximately (=7¼ bighas nearly).

wage from the farm and their families continue to reside in the rooms given them at the farm."

Tagore.—I should like to know the opinion of some of the individual peasants who are here regarding the Collective Farm, and the views of anyone here present* concerning the principle of private property and whether they regret their surrender of their individual farm-holdings.

A brief pause ensued before the peasants got up to reply to this question. A number of them confessed that they entertained orthodox views on this subject as the idea of collectivization was not clear to their minds; still more of them were shy and embarrassed.

Eventually, a peasant from Bashkir Republic (Central Asia) spoke up. He was still an individual farmer but in a short time, he would enter the neighbouring Collective Farm. Pointing out his reasons for this desire he said: "The Collective method of land exploitation yields a far better and a higher ratio of crop than the individual system. We need machinery for the better cultivation of the land. We individuals cannot afford to purchase machines. Further, even if we owned machines, we could not cultivate the small strips of land that each individual peasant owns. Only through the collectivization of these small plots into large collective farms can we really begin to build a new order of social existence."

A woman peasant from the Tamboy region (some 150 miles south of Moscow) then took the floor and said: "There can be no doubt of the superiority of life in Collective Farms to that outside them, and I do not think anyone regrets this change of conditions." Several other peasants confirmed this opinion. Someone from the audience cried out, "How can we regret changing from our former small, dirty huts to our present large, sanitary, hygienic collectivist houses."

Tagore.—I had the pleasure of meeting yesterday M. Karakhan who said that he is particularly proud of the work done by the Soviet Government and the Soviet social organizations in the

*The great majority of those present were peasants, and about half of them were members of Collective Farms or labourers of State Farms.

sphere of the emancipation of women and the education and upbringing of children. In my conversation with him, I expressed my doubts regarding the future of family life, and even of its existence.

He explained that the Soviet authorities had no explicit desire to destroy family life. The state was trying to assume greater responsibilities for the bringing up of children. If this led indirectly to the extinction of family life that would only prove that family life had no survival value for the future civilization of mankind. I should like to hear what your opinions are upon this matter, and whether you believe that family life will continue to exist under the collectivist social system.

The young Ukrainian Semenchiko, who had spoken before, replied: "What I will tell you will show whether family life is being destroyed or not under the new social régime. When my father was alive, he used to work six months of the year in the cities and for the remaining six months (in summer) I was sent with my brothers and sisters to work as shepherds for the wealthy peasants, and therefore we seldom saw our father. Now, I see my son everyday after he returns from the kindergarten, and we are the best of friends."

Another peasant, a woman, also spoke, stating it as her opinion that the introduction of creches and kindergartens has really helped husband and wife to reach a better understanding and happier relations. They foster the growth of a deeper sense of responsibility and appreciation of their duty as parents.

A young Caucasian woman who had been living, excepting for the last four years, in a small village in the Caucasian mountains, spoke with great pathos and understanding. Addressing the interpreter she said: "Tell the Great Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, that we women living in the Soviet Union, and particularly in the Trans-Caucasian Republics, consider that we are really free and happy only since the October Revolution. The dark days of the past before 1917 have now become distant. We are building up a new life in which we are participating fully, conscious of our duties and

responsibilities. We are prepared to go to the extreme length of self-denial for the realization of the ideal we cherish in our hearts. Let the Great Poet know that the various peoples and nationalities of the Soviet Union wish him to convey to the people of India their warmest greetings and sympathy in their dark hours."

Tagore.—Our people are still ignorant, our women are helpless, they need the light of the new age in order to find their place in the world of humanity.

The same woman from Caucasus said: "I would leave my home, my children, all that I have, in order to be able to work amongst your people and to help them!"

Tagore.—Who is that Mongolian looking young man on the left?

The Interpreter.—He is the son of a collective farmer in the Kirghisian Republic. He has come to Moscow to study in the Higher Textile Industrial Technicum. In three years time he will become an engineer and return to his Republic to work on a big plant built since the Revolution.

The Superintendent of the Central Peasants' House in closing this meeting said: "The visit of the Poet to the Soviet Union is of the greatest importance. The coming of such an eminent personage to this country, such an outstanding figure of the cultural world, means a new and bigger step in the mutual contact between the toiling peoples of India and the Soviet Union. We hope the Poet will assist in the spreading of genuine and objective information in India concerning the efforts and activities of the workers and peasants of the First Workers' and Peasants' Republic in History."

The meeting terminated with the singing of the International Hymn.

Exhibition of Drawings.

The exhibition of the paintings of the Poet was opened at the State Moscow Museum of New Western Art on the afternoon of the 17th September. In his introductory speech Prof. Petroff said "to-day we were experiencing the pleasure of meeting Rabindranath Tagore, not only as a great poet and philo-

sopher, but also as an outstanding painter of the day. We greet the great Poet and Painter who has come to our country to observe our building of a new economic, political and social order. We particularly appreciate his visit as a man of great vision and deep intuitive understanding of life's essential realities."

Prof. Sidorov spoke on the essence of the creative art of the Poet as a painter. Prof. Ettingov of the People's Commissariat of Education expressed his warmest welcome on behalf of the Commissariat.

Speech of Welcome.

Prof. Kristy, the Director of the Tretiakov-Gallery in his speech of welcome said :—

"We greet you, revered philosopher and writer, in the name of the greatest museum and region-study department of Moscow, and in the name of the People's Commissariat for Education, directing the affairs of art in the Soviet Union.

"We all know Rabindranath Tagore, philosopher and writer, but it was a pleasant surprise for us to learn that he is also a painter. It is with special pleasure that we have arranged an exhibition of his work in order to acquaint our intellectuals and our working masses with them. We are glad that our guest has come to us at the moment when his own native land is on the eve of emancipation, and that he has come to us when we are ourselves making heroic efforts for the reconstruction of our material and spiritual world.

"We believe that by acquainting himself with our country he will take back much that is useful for his own. For ourselves, we believe that our close contact with this great representative of an old and cultured nation and the consequent fertilization of our own ideas will result in far-reaching benefits for us both."

Reply by Rabindranath Tagore.

The Poet in his reply said :

I return warm thanks for the welcome extended to me. I appreciate intensely this opportunity to get in touch with some of the best minds and best hearts of your country. My most

intimate gift to you are my pictures and I hope that in them we shall truly meet each other. Only this has made me venture to bring my pictures here and exhibit them. I myself value them chiefly because they enable me to get into direct touch with the Western people. Words have failed me, the help of the interpreter has created further distractions in the path of our mutual understanding—let me hope that my pictures will be the messengers of thought between us and bring us close to each other on the plane of harmonious understanding.

Concluding Remarks.

In his concluding remarks Prof. Kristy said :

“We are sincerely grateful for what we have just seen. When we came here we knew Rabindranath Tagore merely as a great philosopher and a poet and supposed that for him art would be merely the hobby of a great man. But the more we acquaint ourselves with his paintings, the more we are struck with the creative skill shown in his pictures. We consider these works to be a great manifestation of artistic life, and that his methods will be, like all high technical achievements assimilated by us from abroad, of the greatest use to our country.”

The Exhibition was very successful, and a large number of people including representatives from various art and educational institutions visited it during the days it was open.

Talks with Art Critics.

The keen interest of the art critics* may be seen from the following notes of conversations kept by Dr. Timbres.

Tagore.—I thank you for your welcome and the words of appreciation. I know that the best communication between nations is the communication of mind and heart. The best products of each country belong to all humanity. This is the proper field of exchange—the field of culture. And I shall be only too glad to show you what I have done in this latest manifestation of my own creative mind.

It came to me all of a sudden without any training or pre-

*In our next number we shall give extracts from articles on Rabindranath Tagore's drawings written by other European critics.—*Editor, V.-B. Q.*

paration, and so it has its psychological value, I believe. In other parts of Europe I must confess, however, those who are very critical of art or products of art, have given me assurance that my pictures not only have a psychological interest, but also a higher interest of art, and they have acknowledged me as an artist, for which I feel very proud. I want now to know what you think of my attempts, because I value your opinion of art very highly indeed.

I have felt a need to bring my pictures to you also because through pictures I can come into direct touch with your mind. I cannot do this with my words owing to the barrier of language. But my pictures, they will speak to you without the medium of an interpreter.

Critic.—What is the idea of this picture?

Tagore.—No idea. It is a picture. Ideas are in words and not in life.

Critic.—What is remarkable in your work is the spirit of youth, and that is why these paintings are so interesting. The spirit of youth meets no difficulty in finding its proper mode of expression and your pictures have created their own technique.

Have you ever painted before?

Tagore.—Never.

Critic.—You are a first-class artists. Every new picture makes a stronger impression and the entire audience is thrilled by this. We are very interested to know when these were made?

Tagore.—These are early ones. They are mainly linear, colours come in later on.

Critic.—Something resembling very much the works of Vrubel, whom you have never seen perhaps?

Tagore.—I do not believe I have seen any of his pictures.

Critic.—We shall be glad to show them to you.

We shall be glad to take your paintings and exhibit them as our own—as those of a Russian artist!

Critic.—We ask whether your paintings have any names?

Tagore.—None at all. I cannot think of any names. I do not know how to describe my pictures.

Critic.—Is this a portrait of Dante?

Tagore.—No, it is not a portrait of Dante. I did it on the

steamer on my way from Japan; last year my pen followed its own impulse which led to this figure you see before you.

Critic.—(With regard to a picture made the day before) An impression of Moscow?

Tagore.—Well, I did it yesterday. I do not know if Moscow has anything to do with it—perhaps it may be so, who knows!

Critic.—We wish to express our deep pleasure. Professor Kristy says he has known you for a long time as a great poet, and here he expected to see some productions of a dilettant-artist, but what he has seen has amazed him. He was struck by the virility of the paintings he had the pleasure to see. He is sure that your paintings represent a very great event in the history of art. He believes your pictures will have a deep effect on our artists and give them a fuller sense of life.

Tagore.—It gives me great delight to be able to gain your approbation and to know that this came from the expert critics and artists of your land. I almost feel vain of my productions. My pictures being too new, I am not yet accustomed to this, and I always feel the greatest delight when they are praised because I have some diffidence in not having any standard within myself, and have to rely upon those who have a great background of artistic experience.

Visits to Moscow Art Theatres.

On Sunday evening the Poet and his party attended the Second Moscow Art Theatre and saw the play—"Peter the First." The Poet was received at the gate of the Theatre by the Director and the leading actors of the play. He expressed great appreciation of the play and spoke enthusiastically about the fervour of dramatic power with which the play was performed.

The next few days were spent in visiting different institutions and meeting with prominent residents of Moscow. In the First Moscow Art Theatre the Poet saw a performance of Tolstoy's "Resurrection," and had a conversation with the famous Soviet actress Knipper, the widow of Tchekhov. On the 20th he attended the performance of "Biaderka" (an Indian love legend) at the First State Opera House, where he was received by Directoress Malinova Kaya.

In Moscow many distinguished scholars like Prof. Veltman, Prof. Shor and others came to see him, and as usual he had a large number of interviews with scientific workers and students.

Notes of conversations with students kept by Dr. Timbres are given below.

Talks with Students.

Tagore.—I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity of coming into close touch with you.

But I do not know how to have proper communication with you. Through translations we cannot say very much. I do not feel encouraged to talk in English about any subject which is important and serious. I would like to know about your aspirations and also if you still have any misgivings about the society under which you are working and growing up. But these are serious questions which cannot be answered through translations. If you have any curiosity to know about anything which I am doing or any other subject concerning India, I shall be glad to answer your questions.

Maria Steinhäus.—Before I ask you a question I would like to greet you in the name of the scientific workers of Moscow and tell you how glad we are to meet you. Your famous name is known all over our country, and we know that you are interested in our schools and educational work. And our comrades would be glad and happy to show you our work.

I have heard that yesterday you spoke about your educational work in India, and I would like to know how you have combined education with the realities of life.

The Poet's School.

Tagore.—You ought to know one thing—that I am by nature a poet. From my very young days, my only vocation was to express my ideas in verse, give shape to my dreams in my poems.

What was it that impelled me to take up this work for which I am not naturally fit?

When I was young, as usual, I was sent to a school. Some of you may have read from the translation of my *Reminiscences*

about the misadventure I had when I began my career as a student in a school. It was a miserable life, which became absolutely intolerable to me. At that time I did not have the capacity to analyse the reason why I suffered; but then when I grew up, it became quite clear to me what it was that hurt me so deeply to be compelled to attend my class in that school where my parents sent me.

I have my natural love for life, for nature, and for my surroundings where I have my dear ones; and to be snatched away from these natural surroundings with which I had all my deeper life of relationship, and to be sent as an exile to the school, to the class with its bare white walls, and its stare of dead eyes, frightened me every day. When I was once inside these walls, I did not feel natural. It was a fragment torn away from life, and this caused me intense misery because I was uprooted from my own world and sent to surroundings which were dead and unsympathetic, disharmonious and monotonously dull.

It was not possible for the mind of a child to be able to receive anything in those cheerless surroundings, in the environment of dead routine. And the teachers were like living gramophones, repeating the same lessons day by day in a dull manner. My mind refused to accept anything from my teachers. With all my heart and soul I repudiated what was put before me. And then there were some teachers who were utterly unsympathetic, and did not understand at all the sensitive soul of a young boy, and tried to punish him for the mistakes he made. Such teachers in their stupidity did not know how to teach, how to impart education to a living mind. And because they failed, they punished their victim. And this was how I suffered when I was thirteen years old.

And then I left school, and in spite of all the efforts of my guardians, I refused to go to school.

Since then I have been educating myself, and that process is still being carried on. And whatever I have learned, I have learned outside the classes. And I believe that that was a fortunate event in my life—that avoiding the schoolmaster when I was still young. And whatever I have done in later life, if I have shown any special gift or originality, I feel certain it was

owing to the fact that I did not have a respectable education drilled into me.

I took to my own work. I retired to a solitary place near the Ganges, and a great part of my life I lived in a houseboat, writting my poems, stories and plays, dreaming my dreams.

I went on till I gradually became known to my own countrymen and claims were made on me from all parts of the country for writings and for various kinds of help. But I kept to my solitude for a long time. It is very difficult for me to say what it was—how the call came to me to come out of the isolation of my literary life, and live among my fellow-beings to share their life and help them in their living.

And it is also a surprise to me how I had the courage to start an educational institution for our children, for I had no experience in this line at all. But I had confidence in myself. I knew that I had very profound sympathy for children. And about my knowledge of their phychology, I was very certain. I felt that I could help them more than the ordinary teachers.

I selected a beautiful place, far away from the contamination of the town life. I myself, in my young days, was brought up in that town, in the heart of India, Calcutta, and all the time I had a sort of homesickness for the open counry where my heart, my soul, could have its true freedom. Though I had no experience of the outer world, I had in my heart a great longing to go away from my enclosure of those walls and from that huge, stony-hearted step-mother, Calcutta. I knew that the mind has its hunger for the ministrations of mother-nature, and so I selected this spot where the sky is unobstructed to the verge of the horizon. There the mind could have its fearless freedom to create its own dreams, and the seasons could come with all their colours and movements and beauty into the very heart of the human dwelling. And there I got a few children around me and I taught them. I was their companion. I sang to them. I composed musical pieces, operas and plays, and they took part in the performances. I recited to them our epics, and this was the beginning of this school. I had only about five or six students at that time. People did not have any confidence in a

poet for bringing up their children and educating them. And so I had very few students to begin with.

My idea was that education should be a part of life itself, and must not be detached from it and be made into something abstract. And so when I brought these children around me, I allowed them to live a complete life. They had perfect freedom to do what they wished, as much liberty as was possible for me to give them. And in all their activities I tried to put before them something which would be interesting to them.

I tried to arouse their interest in all things, in nature's beauty and the surrounding villages, and also in literature. I tried to educate them through play-acting, through listening to music in a natural manner, and not merely by class teaching.

They knew when I was employed in writing a drama, and they took an intense interest as it went on and developed, and in the process of their rehearsals they acquired a real taste for literature more than they could through formal lessons in grammar and class-teaching. And this was my method. I knew the children's mind. Their sub-conscious mind is more active than the conscious one, and therefore the important thing is to surround them with all kinds of activities which could stimulate their minds and gradually arouse their interests.

I had musical evenings—not merely music classes, and those boys who at first did not have any special love of music would, out of curiosity, listen to our songs from outside, and gradually they too were drawn into the room and their taste for music developed. I had some of the very great artists of our land, and while they went on with their work, the boys could watch them and saw day by day how those works of art developed.

An atmosphere was created, and what was important, this atmosphere provided the students with a natural impulse to live in harmony with it. In the beginning it was easier to feel this, when I had only a few students ; I was then almost their only companion and teacher and it was truly the golden age of our school. I know that the boys who had then the privilege of attending my school look back on those days with much love and longing. But as the number grew it became more and more expensive for me to carry on the school in my own way.

According to the old tradition of our country it was the responsibility of the teacher to give education to those who came to him to be taught, and in our country students used to have free tuition and also free lodging in their teacher's house. The teachers acknowledged their responsibility : they themselves had the privilege of being educated, and they owed it to society that they should help their students in return, and should not claim anything in the shape of fees or remuneration.

And I also began like that. Free tuition, lodging and boarding and all necessities of life, I supplied to my students out of my own poor resources. But you can easily imagine that under modern condition of life it was not possible to continue like this, because now you have to get the help of teachers whose salaries are high, and there are other expenses which daily seem to increase. I could not maintain the old tradition that it is the duty and the privilege of the teacher to impart education to his students, and that an educational institution is not a shop where you can buy commodities with money. I was compelled to give up this idea, and now gradually it has taken the shape of an ordinary school.

Only I tried my best to have certain things in the school which they did not have in the orthodox schools. The teachers shared the common life with the boys, it was a community life. In the sports and festivals the teachers and the students fully co-operated with each other. It was not like a cage in which the birds are fed from the outside, but it was like a nest which students themselves co-operated in building up with their own life, with their love, with their daily work, and their play.

I believe that we still have this true to a great extent. It is difficult to maintain this atmosphere owing to the fact that my colleagues with whom I have to work are brought up in a different tradition, not having the same chance as I had to play truant when they were young. They have their own ideas about education, and it is difficult to wholly get rid of them. And so something alien to the central ideal does creep into this institution through those who are there to help me. I had in the beginning to struggle very hard with my teachers, not with the students, as very often happens in other schools. I had to take

sides with the boys when they were punished for no fault of their own, but that of their teachers. I had to be firm and defend the boys, which often offended the teachers. I remember, one day a new teacher came and when he found that some of the boys were doing their lessons up on the tree, he was furious because of this want of discipline on their part. I had to protect the boys from the schoolmaster. I told him that when these boys grew up to his age they will not have the great privilege of climbing up the trees to do their lessons; they would become more respectable and keep away from mother-nature.

But I believe that an atmosphere has been created and it is there. The school has grown. The number of students is increasing year by year, which is not always an advantage. But it cannot be helped.

Another feature which is of later growth is that the number of girls has been increasing. The co-education system is quite a new thing in India. But it is working perfectly in my school. We have had no cause for complaint. Very often the boys and girls go out together on excursions; the boys help the girls in bringing fuel and fetching water, and the girls cook the dinners for the boys and everything is managed by mutual help. That is a great education in itself.

There is another factor which I consider to be important. I always try to get from outside of India, from Europe and from the Far East, lecturers, who come to the school to teach and also to share the simple life of the school with our students. This contributes to the creating of a favourable atmosphere. Our boys are very natural in their relationship with the foreign guests and visitors. My idea is that the mind should find its freedom in every respect, and I am sure that our children have, through their early training, freedom from the barriers of country and race, and creeds and sects. It is always difficult to get rid of these prejudices after we grow up. It is often sedulously cultivated in our school-books, and also by the patriots who wish the boys to be proud of the exploits of their own country by running down other countries. In this way nationalistic prejudices are cultivated. With the help of my visitors from abroad I have tried my best to make our boys' minds hospitable

to the guests who come to us, and I think I have been successful.

Then there are other activities. We have in the neighbouring villages some primitive people who need our help. We have started night-schools for them and our boys go there and teach. Then we have the village work in connexion with our institution; and there our boys have the opportunity to study the conditions of our village life and to know how to help them efficiently through scientific and up-to-date methods of cultivation and of fighting diseases. To impart not merely academic information, but how to live a complete life is, according to me, the purpose of education.

The only thing I have not been able to provide our boys with is science, owing to the enormous expense it would entail, which in a poor country like ours is difficult to meet. I have not yet been able to arrange for it. Our students and I hope that some day it will be possible for me to make up this deficiency.

This is the idea which I have in my mind and in spite of my lack of means, my poor resources, I have done something. Those who have been able to visit our institution can tell you how we have been helping the villages. It is not only for providing needed relief to the villages but also for the educational value of the work itself that children should be trained in the heart of such activities. The villages are the cradles of life, and if we cannot give it what is due to it, then we commit suicide. Modern civilization is depriving the villages of life-stuff, and draining away everything from the villages to the pampered towns. To counteract this I have brought my students around this village work which we have started in order to give them the proper training for helping the villagers.

I think this is, in short, the idea which I have in mind in my school.

Village Schools in India.

Question : What is the condition of women in India as compared with the position of women in this country?

Tagore : This is a very comprehensive question.

Question : What is the social origin of the generality of your pupils? Are they peasants, workers and so on?

Tagore : In the neighbourhood of the village where we are working, we have opened a special school for the villages. You may ask why I should make such a distinction. Why should I not allow the children of the villages to come and attend the other school which is for the children of the upper class people? The reason is that these students who come from comparatively rich families, all want to pass their examinations and get their degrees in order to earn their livelihood. Therefore it is not possible to give to them the ideal kind of education. For instance, they cannot waste their time in manual training, or even in such cultural training as music and art, and they want to cram themselves for their examination and somehow get through. I had to submit to this because otherwise there would be no chance of having a single student in my school. One of the reasons is that our country is exceedingly poor, and it is natural for these boys to want to earn their livelihood and maintain their family when they grow older, and they must have some opportunity to pass their examinations in their schools. So I had to start a parallel school where the villagers who do not have ambitions for finding government employment or employment in merchants' offices, come and join. There I am trying to introduce all my methods which I consider to be absolutely necessary for a perfect education. Before long, this village school, I believe, will be the real school, the ideal school, and the other one will be neglected.

Question : A representative of the literary organization of the people would like to know which are the most interesting currents in Indian literature. Are there in India any institutions for training workers for literary activity?

Tagore : We do not have any organized effort to help the working men to stimulate their creative activities. There have been started various night schools, but that is for the purpose of teaching them how to read and write and to get elementary information of various kinds. We cannot say that we have many schools which are of a higher class than that. One of the reasons is that we should not have any students even if we did start such a school. With some encouragement we can induce villagers to attend the night schools in order to be able just to read and

write, for they consider this quite enough. Only occasionally there are a few intelligent individuals who have the ambition to join the higher classes, and pass through their examinations to get degrees. But their number is very small, and even they after passing their examinations lose touch with their village. They do not want to live in the village. They try to come to the town and take up some kind of work which they consider to be of higher nature.

So we hardly have any institution for training the peasants or the working-men in order to do their own vocation properly in an educated manner. I think the only exception in Bengal which I may mention is this school which I have started in the neighbouring village near our institution. There the real people of the village get a proper training, a real education, not merely a smattering of some elementary subjects.

Institutions of Moscow.

The strenuous programme told heavily on the Poet's health. Prof. Zelinin, the eminent Soviet physician, made a thorough medical examination and advised him to take a good rest. While the Poet himself was resting quietly, the members of his party visited many important institutions. One of the most interesting among these was the Industrial Labourers' Commune for homeless waifs and incorrigible children. Dr. Timbres sends us the following notes.

The children are roughly from 14 to 18 years of age. There are 100 youngsters living in at the colony, and another 100 dine during the day. The period of retention is not longer than 3 years. This labour commune has not only school rooms but also a number of workshops. The idea is to give an industrial training to these one-time homeless waifs, and thus give them that re-education which will mould them into honest social youths.

This commune has self-government, and is managed by the youngsters themselves. There are no warders. The inmates do 4 hours practical work in the workshops, and have 3 hours theoretical study in the classrooms. From 5 to 10 at night they are free for social work or their own amusements. They require

no special permit to leave the Colony to visit the town. All that is required is that they should inform their "brigadier" or squad leader (for convenience' sake they are divided into military groups) of their absence. During the past year the Commune has made experiments endeavouring to discover whether the children going through its course of training are permanently reclaimed from the streets. To discover how far this aim has been achieved, 30 young volunteers worked for 3 days and nights in the reception centres of the homeless waifs, assisting in their distribution among the labour communes in the various towns. The colony youth go regularly each summer to the Crimea for a holiday. The money for these holidays is raised by renting the premises of their winter colony to the excursion departments of the Commissariat of Education.

The Central Ethnographical State Museums for the study of the peoples of the USSR are housed in the former palaces of a favourite of Catherine the Great. They present a scientific and illustrated description of the ethnographical and economical regions of the Union. There are more than 120 different nations inhabiting the territory of the Soviet Union with a total population of 155,000,000. The Soviet Union itself covers an area of one-sixth of the world.

Among the other institutions visited by the members of the party were the Children's Creche and Kindergarten of the Dynamo Works, the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy with nearly 3,000 students under training for agricultural engineering and organization, the Central Station for Educational Experiments of the People's Commissariat for Education which was originally started by M. Shatsky in 1912, the Museum of Handicrafts, the Tretyakov Gallery, the Museum of Revolution and the Lefort House of Isolation.

Farewell Meeting at Dom Soyouzov.

On the evening of the 24th September, the day before the Poet's departure from Moscow a big public meeting was arranged in Dom Soyouzov, the Central House of Trade Unions. This House was formerly the General Meeting Hall of the Moscow aristocracy and was known as "Dvoryanskoye Sobraniye" in

pre-revolution days. More than 2,000 persons were present. On the dais, with Rabindranath Tagore in the centre, sat the distinguished personages of Moscow including Prof. Petroff, Prof. Kogan, D. Novomirsky, A. Eshukoff and a number of eminent writers and artists.

Prof. Petroff opened the proceedings with a few words. The Soviet poet Shingalee then recited the Ode to Rabindranath Tagore which he had specially composed for the occasion.

Rabindranath Tagore gave a short speech in reply.

✓ Farewell Speech by Rabindranath Tagore.

I am highly honoured at the invitation to appear in this hall and I am grateful to Dr. Petroff for the kind words he has said about me. I am thankful to the people for giving me the opportunity of knowing this country and seeing the great work which the people are doing in this land. My mission in life is education. I believe that all human problems find their fundamental solution in education. And outside of my own vocation as a poet I have accepted this responsibility to educate my people as much as lies in my individual power to do. I know that all the evils, almost without exception, from which my land suffers are solely owing to the utter lack of education of the people.

Poverty, pestilence, communal fights and industrial backwardness make our path of life narrow and perilous owing to the meagreness of education. And this is the reason why, in spite of my advanced age and my weak health, I gladly accepted the invitation offered to me to see how you are working out the most important problem of education in this country. I have seen, I have admired and I have envied you in your great opportunities. You will know that our condition in India is very similar to yours. She has an agricultural population which is in need of all the help and encouragement that you have given the people in this country. You know how precarious is the living which depends exclusively upon agriculture, and so how utterly necessary it is for the cultivators to have the knowledge of up-to-date method of producing crops in order to meet the increasing demands of life.

Our people are living on the verge of perpetual famine, and do not know how to help this because they have lost their faith and confidence in their own humanity. This is the greatest misfortune of our people, three hundred millions of men and women burdened with profound ignorance, without any hope in life.

So I came to this land to see how you deal with this problem, you who have struggled against the incubus of ignorance, superstition, and apathy which were once prevalent in this land among the working-men and peasantry. The little that I have seen has convinced me of the marvellous progress that has been made, the miracle that has been achieved. How the mental attitude of the people has been changed in such a short time, it is difficult for us to realize, we who live in the darkest shadow of ignorance and futility. It gladdens my heart to know that the people, the real people who maintain the life of society and bear the burden of civilization, are not deprived of their own rights and that they enjoy an equal share of all the advantages of a progressive community.

And I dream of the time when it will be possible for that ancient land of Aryan civilization also to enjoy the great boon of education and equal opportunities for all the people. I am thankful, truly thankful to you all who have helped me in visualising in a concrete form the dream which I have been carrying for a long time in my mind, the dream of emancipating the people's minds which have been shackled for ages. For this I thank you.

Musical programme.

Then followed the first and second parts of the musical recital of a composition by Borchtman, executed by a company of singers with Borchtman himself at the piano. The author Galperin then recited in Russian three pieces of Tagore's poems, and Ruslanov, an actor of the Vaghtanov Theatre, recited two prose pieces from Tagore's works.

This was followed by the third part of the Borchtman programme. Other musical selections were given with the author-composer Dzegelyanka at the piano, and also a special recital, in honour of the Poet, by Kozlovsky, Artist Emeritus of the Re-

public, of the Ario from the Russian Opera "Sadko" by Rimsky-Korsakov. A rough translation of a few lines of this song is given below :

"Oh, wonderful land, India,
Where on the white shore of
the beautiful warm sea grows
the tree of wisdom.
Many coloured birds sing the music of heaven,
and all is forgotten in bliss
.....in Far India of miracles."

The actor Simonov gave selections from the Post Office.

Rabindranath Tagore then recited two of his poems in Bengalee, "the rain song" and "a love poem." These were received with tremendous applause and aroused great admiration and enthusiasm. After a short interval an exhibition of dancing and folk music was given by various artists such as Zagoraskya, the famous Russian folk-singer, Messerer of the First Moscow Opera House who danced the "Ribbon Dance" from the Red Poppy ballet, Ryabtsev and his group from the first Moscow Opera House who gave a demonstration of Russian village songs, Yablotchka in the sailor's "Apple Dance," and Madame Chevtchenko, the Russian folk-singer. The programme terminated with a recital of Russian folk-songs and dances of Northern and Central regions of the USSR by a peasant choir directed by Piatinitsky.

At the close of the evening the whole audience gave a great ovation to the Poet as a farewell expression of their admiration.

Impressions of Moscow.

On the 25th September, just before the Poet's departure from Moscow a reporter from the "Izvestia" came to see him. We give below a translation of the reported interview.

The Poet was asked to say what things in Moscow had impressed him the most.

He replied :—The Orphans at the Home of the Young Pioneers showed great confidence in their ability to realize their ideal for a new world. Their behaviour to me was so natural.

Their conduct impressed me very deeply. Then at the Peasants' House I met the peasants. We questioned each other quite frankly. Their problems are similar to the problems of the peasants in my own country. I was deeply impressed by the attitude of mind of your peasants.

Places which I have not been able to visit have been visited by my secretaries. My doctor tells me of the fine work you are doing in sanitation, hygiene, scientific research. You are accomplishing a great deal in these lines under conditions not nearly as favourable, economically at least, as in other countries. My secretaries tell me of your splendid work in training students of agriculture, in caring for and training the homeless children left by war and famine, and of the outstanding experiment in practical education being carried on by Mr. Shatsky in his colony. Mr. Shatsky did me the honour of coming to visit me. I find that the ideal of his institution I also share. I am certain that your methods of education would be of great benefit in other countries where there is so much in education that is merely academic and abstract. Yours is much more practical and therefore moral, and it is closer in touch with the varied aspects and purposes of life.

The Poet's Comments on Soviet Activities.

On being asked if he would express a few words in regard to his general impressions of Moscow, the Poet replied :

I wish to let you know how deeply I have been impressed by the amazing intensity of your energy in spreading education among masses, the most intelligent direction which you have given to this noble work and also the variety of channels that have been opened out to train their minds and senses and limbs. I appreciate it all the more keenly because I belong to that country where millions of my fellow-countrymen are denied the light that education can bring to them. For human beings all other boons that are external and superficial, that are imposed from outside, are like paints and patches that never represent the bloom of health but only disguise the anaemic skin without enriching the blood. You have recognized the truth that in

extirpating all social evils one has to go to the root, which can only be done through education, and not through police batons and military brow-beating.

But I find here certain contradictions to the great mission which you have undertaken. Certain attitudes of mind are being cultivated which are contrary to your ideal.

I must ask you: Are you doing your ideal a service by arousing in the minds of those under your training, anger, class hatred and revengefulness against those not sharing your ideal, against those whom you consider to be your enemies? True, you have to fight against obstacles, you have to overcome ignorance and lack of sympathy, even persistently virulent antagonism. But your mission is not restricted to your own nation or own party, it is for the betterment of humanity according to your light. But does not humanity include those who do not agree with your aim? Just as you try to help peasants who have other ideas than yours about religion, economics, and social life, not by getting fatally angry with them, but by patiently teaching them and showing them where the evil lurks in secret, should you not have the same mission to those other people who have other ideals than your own? These you may consider to be mistaken ideals, but they have an historical origin and have become inevitable through combination of circumstances. You may consider the men who hold them as misguided. But it should all the more be your mission to try to convert them by pity and love, realizing that they are as much a part of humanity as the peasants whom you serve.

If you dwell too much upon the evil elements in your opponents and assume that they are inherent in human nature meriting eternal damnation, you inspire an attitude of mind which with its content of hatred and revengefulness may some day react against your own ideal and destroy it. You are working in a great cause. Therefore you must be great in your mind, great in your mercy, your understanding and your patience. I feel profound admiration for the greatness of the things you are trying to do, therefore I cannot help expecting for it a motive force of love and an environment of a charitable understanding.

There must be disagreement where minds are allowed to be free. It would not only be an uninteresting but a sterile world of mechanical regularity if all of our opinions were forcibly made alike. If you have a mission which includes all humanity, you must, for the sake of that living humanity, acknowledge the existence of differences of opinion. Opinions are constantly changed and rechanged only through the free circulation of intellectual forces and moral persuasion. Violence begets violence and blind stupidity. Freedom of mind is needed for the reception of truth; terror hopelessly kills it. The brute cannot subdue the brute. It is only the man who can do it.

Before leaving your country let me once again assure you that I am struck with admiration by all that you are doing to free those who once were in slavery, to raise up those who were lowly and oppressed, endeavouring to bring help to those who are utterly helpless all through the world, reminding them that the source of their salvation lies in a proper education and their power to combine their human resources. Therefore, for the sake of humanity I hope that you may never create a vicious force of violence which will go on weaving an interminable chain of violence and cruelty. Already you have inherited much of this legacy from the Tsarist régime. It is the worst legacy you possibly could have. You have tried to destroy many of the other evils of that régime. Why not try to destroy this one also? I have learned much from you, how skilfully you evolve usefulness out of the helpfulness of the weak and ignorant. Your ideal is great and so I ask you for perfection in serving it, and a broad field of freedom for laying its permanent foundation.

Departure from Moscow.

On the 25th of September the Poet left Moscow.* He rested quietly for 3 or 4 days in the house of Dr. and Mrs. Mendel at Wannsee in Berlin, and left for the United States of America on the 3rd of October.

*The Poet has written a large number of letters which not only give a vivid picture of Soviet Moscow but contain a critical appraisal of the communistic experiments in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We are publishing translations of two letters in this issue, and intend to publish translations of extracts from other letters in our next number.

PROGRESS AND PERSONALITY.

By DHURJATI PRASAD MUKHERJEE.

Chit said to Mr. Blettsworthy, "part of your madness, Lunatic is to be for ever talking of this Progress of yours. Are there no Megatheria in your world?—that world of yours that keep going on and on. Does nothing in your world refuse either to breed or die"?

A student of sociology perplexed by books on Progress may very well reply :—

"There are too many ideas in our world ; they breed but they refuse to die. They are the catchwords of other days. Equality, Fraternity, Liberty, General Will are notable examples from the 18th century ideology. Group-mind and Progress are typical examples of the 19th. With us, Progress is an article of faith. Like many other similar articles, it is either a wish-fulfilment or a defence-mechanism set up against a fear of the loss of social prestige and service. In league with leaders in other spheres of knowledge we have established a group-equilibrium of mental patterns which is sacrosanct. Scientists had postulated the continuity and immutability of natural laws, the uniformity of nature and the conservation of energy. Politicians had posited the stability of government and the virtues of the representative system or of Democracy. Philosophers had spun out their systems round free-will and necessity. The theologians had placed the divine order high above the world of change. Even classical economists had their theory of laissez-faire, the inherent virtues of competition and self-interest. Our ideas of Progress are no less fixed than any of these hypotheses. That every day and in every way every thing is becoming better and better is the cult of our order."

In such an intellectual climate all individual questionings are quashed. The individual, to escape his own awkward queries resigns himself to Alexander's Time, Bergson's élan vital, Spengler's Cyclic History, Croce's Unfolding of the

Spirit or Nicefero's statistical aggregates, indices and averages, for peace is best preserved by the surrender of intelligence to mystic symbols. The idea of progress has become clouded in a maze of abstract theories all of which agree in completely ignoring the life of the individual in the concrete.

Progress, according to the sociologist, is either a fact to be measured in terms of numbers and indices, or a theory to be described in terms of spirals, cycles, or evolutionary concepts. But common sense tells us that it is neither a master-idea, nor a myth, neither a fact, nor a fiction. The nature of progress is a challenge to our intellect and therefore a problem.

Generally speaking, a problem can arise only when a new fact is discovered, and must be related to the known series of facts, or when it is felt that the old ordering of facts is not adequate and it is considered desirable to attempt a new organization of facts.

Neither facts nor generalizations are isolated. They have meaning only in reference to life in the concrete, primarily that of an individual, living in association with other individuals, in a region, at a particular time, in the line of certain beliefs, customs and traditions. In other words, both facts and ideas are events. Before events fall in order, there must be an effort to order them. (This effort is interpreted as conflict by a certain school of sociologists). The consciousness of this effort varies in different individuals in different stages of civilization, and according to different degrees of organization of facts and ideas. The urge for making this effort varies from a vague feeling of tension to a detached scientific curiosity.

At first there is a sort of logical ambivalence in which A may be both A and not-A at one and the same time, a state of mind generally observed, both in primitive and modern societies, when potentialities are held in balance. Even when the relationship between two groups of events is causal, the common idea of cause as a force and a compelling agency introduces a sense of conflict. Another type of relationship may be called mutuality. Logically, mutuality is the settle-

ment of a problem, rather than its *dénouement*. Yet even mutuality becomes a problem when the settlement has to be adjusted to a previous result. The need for adjustment signifies the presence of tension. The problem of progress* can be understood only as a succession of tensions, in other words, as a problem of the co-ordination of events, of facts and ideas.

In the 19th century, faith in Progress received a tremendous impetus from Darwinism. The political and economic optimists of the period seized upon the concept of evolution to support their own theories. It was applied indiscriminately to every form of organization which was considered to have any analogy to an organism. In the heyday of Darwinism, the validity of the analogy was never seriously questioned (except by Butler in England); instances of regression and futile evolution were ignored; the fallacy of formulating a universal law by generalization from one limited series of facts was not noticed; the part played by conscious selection as a modifying factor was not taken into account; and the importance of personality was not properly appreciated. The utmost that the theory of evolution could teach the sociologist was that changes took place and happened in course of time, and that such changes could possibly be interpreted as a movement with a direction.

With the evolutionary sociologist, progress is not a problem to be tackled, but a natural phenomenon to be described accurately. Soon there was a change initiated by Ward. His emphasis was on man, *i.e.*, on man's ability (and duty) to modify nature in the light of human purpose. From Ward to Hobhouse, we notice an attempt to emphasize the importance of social selection, social choice and social purpose. But when

*In recent years numerous books have been written on the nature and history of the idea of progress: Delavaille, Todd, Bury, Hertzler, Weatherly, Dean Inge, Giddings, Ward, Park, Burgess, Dewey, Allport, Willcox, Julian Huxley, Niceforo, Radhakamal Mukherji and others. Among older writers, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Spencer, Comte, Condorcet, Bodin and Lucretius. I am not directly concerned with a classification of their ideas. I do not believe in their formulæ. With a majority of them, belief in Progress is an act of faith which releases the energy to write books. Dean Inge among others, however, calls it a superstition which has enslaved the philosophies of Hegel, Comte and Darwin.

Ward writes, 'progress is in proportion to the opportunities and facilities for exercising the faculties and satisfying desire,' he is primarily concerned with the means of attaining progress (and only indirectly concerned with the question of values), that is, with the problem of determining which faculties are to be fostered by exercise and education, which are to be allowed to die of disuse, which desires are to be cultivated and which are to be socially controlled and inhibited. When Hobhouse writes, 'there is progress just where the factor of social tradition comes into play and just so far as its influence extends,' he is primarily concerned with the psychological aspect of progress, and leaves undiscussed the valuation of particular social traditions and the reciprocal inter-actions of social traditions and individual judgments.

Dewey recognizes the problematic nature of progress. He writes, 'it is a problem of discovering the needs and capacities of collective human nature as we find it aggregated in racial or national groups on the surface of the globe, and of inventing social machinery which will set available powers operating for the satisfaction of these needs.' Dewey rightly mentions the needs and capacities which form the framework of values. Be it noted however that the needs and capacities are not values; they have to be translated into terms of values. When Dewey refers to the invention of a social machinery to utilize the capacities for the satisfaction of these needs, he obfuscates the real issue by his pragmatist leanings and a sentimental attachment for *Demos* made in U.S.A. Besides, when Dewey refers to 'collective human nature aggregated in racial or national groups', he is artificially limiting the extent of collectivity and inviting a new series of conflicts, the only virtue of which is their gigantic scale. If progress is national or racial, it is easy for a powerful nation or race to justify the exploitation of less powerful groups on the ground that such exploitation advances the cause of progress. (To enact anti-immigration laws becomes incidentally a moral duty). Progress is certainly a problem; it involves the attempt to erect social machinery for the elimination of losses and conflicts, but it is not merely a national or a racial problem.

The recent tendency among evolutionist-philosophers is to substitute new words for old. Thus 'elan vital', 'the Will to Live,' 'the Life-Force' have taken the place of natural selection. The first two were made current by two philosophers and the third by a dramatist who himself has been a most merciless critic of catch-phrases. The great literary gifts of these three writers have been responsible for the wide currency of their phrases, and the phrase-mongers of universities have borrowed these phrases in order to make up for their own lack of style and original thought.

Bernard Shaw and Bergson both believe in progress. In describing the modes of progress, both of them make use of evolution. Beneath the shifting exterior of adaptation, there is a Life-Force which is essentially purposive. The function of man is to make this purpose conscious. Here is an instance of drawing right conclusions from wrong premises. We are unable to trace the reforming spirit of Mr. Shaw to a tape-worm, for despite natural and nurtural differences, our vanity makes us remember that Mr. Shaw and ourselves are born of human chromosomes. Amending D'Israeli's statement, we might say, as sociologists we are on the side of human beings. When our insufficient knowledge of genetics prevents us from accepting the transmission of acquired characters, the primitive purpose of the tape-worm can only escheat to the Divine State—the rightful owner of such mystic properties. As Shaw's Life-Force is 'Lamarckism in caricature' so is Bergson's 'elan vital' nothing but 'Orthogenesis translated into vitalistic terms, a mere metaphor.' As Prof. Haldane has shown in his Gifford Lectures, the chief defect of vitalism is its uselessness as a working hypothesis. Elementary physico-chemical and biological processes, reproduction with its tendency towards overpopulation, and factors of selective mortality are sufficient to account for what is sought to be explained by the vitalist in terms of a highly mystical and poetic, and often brilliant, language. In spite of M. Bergson's half-hearted denial, this elan vital is purposive on his own showing, for 'unassisted by such material considerations as the struggle for existence and the elimination of the less fit by natural selection, it makes

tactfully, but firmly, for movement onward and on the whole upward in Evolution.'

Bergson might be wrong, like Bernard Shaw, in his biology. The element of purposiveness they have laid stress on might be totally absent from the processes of natural evolution, but it is a useful concept for the study of social changes. Variation and selection might be random and purposeless in the non-social world; 'the prevision of an end and a determination to reach that end' which are implied in purpose might not have become manifest in the non-human species, and yet it must be admitted that purposiveness has emerged as a factor of importance in the case of human beings. It is a more efficient method than that of trial and error, and is likely not only to accelerate the process of human evolution but also to open out new possibilities of human progress.

The conclusion I want to draw is that in so far as progress involves an element of purpose we can think of it with reference to human beings only. Angels, animals or vegetables, are out of court. Evolution, as a scientific theory, has no connexion with moral or social values, while the concept of progress involves the determination of values. Only in so far as valuation has reference to adjustments with non-social nature is it necessary to take cognisance of purely scientific aspects of the theory of evolution in which no clear distinction is made between progress and mere change as a process in time. In other words, development is not distinguished from growth. The emergence of values and their dynamic character are not given due consideration in discussions of progress by the evolutionary sociologists.

The idea of ceaseless change, first brought into fashion by evolutionists, has gained a further accession of strength from the Time-Philosophers of the 20th century. A new cult with an esoteric doctrine of a transcendental *cum* immanent Time-God has found favour among historians, sociologists and professors with the result that there is hardly any branch of recent thought which has remained unaffected by it. Spengler furnishes a typical example of this outbreak of a new religion.

According to this writer, history is 'becoming' in strict accordance with certain laws, which operate in temporal cycles. With the help of these laws, he comes to the conclusion that the modern West has entered into the declining phase. However alluring the picture of a declining West might be to the vanity of an inhabitant of the East, accustomed on one hand to theories of predetermination and cycles of *Kalpas* and embittered on the other hand through a scientifically efficient exploitation by the West, a careful examination of the theory will show that it has little reference to reality. In the hands of Spengler, 'becoming' has become inexorable and acquired a fatality with which no becoming, as such, is ever charged. Inexorability is extraneous to change and is generally imposed on it by interested motives. (The only value of such an idea seems to be that it might help the West in getting rid of its easy self-complacence. But the practical result has been a reaction against the East and what it stands for. From more than one point in view, Massis is a consequence of Spengler. In India, Spenglerism is feeding fat the ancient grudge against England. It has pandered to the culture-chauvinists to the detriment of the East and the West alike). But in recent years the mystic philosophy of time has gained a tremendous prestige and has clouded the critical spirit of the intellectuals. It has found particular favour with the sociologist who is now snobbishly trying to rise into the superior caste of scientists by denying his own mind and cultivating the 20th century spirit in an attitude indiscriminately reverential to all esoteric doctrines. We are anxiously waiting for a sociologist of time who, in the name of the eternal flux or social morphology, would tell us that Time, (with a capital T), moves society, and teach us to possess our soul in patience until the days of Final Social Resurrection. So long as he does not emerge on the scene, the concept of time is to be understood only as a means, a mechanism, of social adjustment. The extent to which a balance between conventional or public time and private time is struck is a measure of the direction, the purpose, and the sense of values of the individual. For it is quite clear that an individual who has no private time of his own, who does not lend meaning to the public

time to which he is expected to conform, is no better than a social butterfly.

There are yet other sociologists, with a more rigorous discipline, who would discover indices of progress. Figures for optimum population and the increase in the average expectation of life are for them measures of social progress. They would seek to establish an equitable distribution of opportunities by a survey of abilities, and try to measure the advance of material comforts by investigating whether a happy balance had been struck between resources and human needs. Another series of statistical tests would include "lower death rates, higher wages, better balanced family budgets, more years of schooling, extension of the life-period, increase of reading, higher productivity of machines and workers." Prof. Hertzler has drawn up a series of multiple tests of progress in five closely written pages under the following headings:—moral, economic, political, biological, educational, religious, domestic, aesthetic, intellectual, recreational and racial. These tests number nearly two hundred and yet they are not complete. The very attempt shows the futility of any series of individual tests. The infinite possibilities of life cannot be exhausted by counting.

Yet in one sense figures are more assuring than ideas. For such social phenomena as lend themselves to quantitative measurement, these indices are more reliable than vague generalities. Not that these indices are fixed and eternal. Even the optimum population varies from time to time and from region to region. Besides, no test is to be trusted by itself. If a raising of the status of women is adopted as a test, even a modern American girl would find it hard to compete with a Khasi or an Iroquois matron. Divorce-rates may only indicate laxity of marriage-laws; lower crime-rates stricter police control; homogeneity may mean dead levelism and a stagnation. We all know the limitations of the statistical method. Le Play, the initiator of social survey, had no toleration for 'the disdainful method of invention.' He did not want to leave anything to 'the imagination, presupposition or prejudices of the observer'; he was all for scientific exactitude. By a study of different family-systems he had come to the con-

clusion that a family-group on the model of the Chinese or the English type was the best solution of the evils of individualism. He was so convinced of the merits of this particular type that he offered a 'reward to anyone who could show him a single happy family except under conditions of this kind.' 'But,' he adds, naïvely, 'all my efforts proved fruitless.' In fact, the prejudices of the statistician, chiefly his temperamental optimism or pessimism, are too deeply entrenched in the sub-conscious to be driven out by equations. For what are these tests after all? They are nothing but symbolic representations of certain general features drawn from an enthusiastic study of a favoured country in a favoured epoch. Almost invariably the favoured country is the fatherland of the statistician and the favoured epoch is the period adorned by him. It is Athens, Rome, Florence, Geneva, London, Berlin, Paris, Boston or Philadelphia. The scientific detachment is offset by a natural egotism, by personal, class, and national bias. On such insecure bases, comparisons cannot be just, especially when all the countries are changing and changing differently.

The fundamental difficulty is that the behaviour-patterns which are compared are on different levels. Some are on the level of instincts where survival-value is the predominating consideration. Some others are only on the hedonistic level where value is governed by the greatest good of the greatest number. Yet other patterns are there which are of the 'non-advantageous type.' Different groups of people lay different emphasis on different patterns of behaviour at different times. No one series of tests will be valid for all peoples, or for the same people for all time. Tests or indices are merely symbols of value; as values differ the significance of tests also must vary. Possibly it is this limitation of the statistical method which sometimes gives rise to contradictions between different tests. For example, although homogeneity is a great asset, the diffusion of culture is more possible when a nation is racially heterogeneous than otherwise. Again, the cultural productivity of a people or the birth of creative geniuses is not always a function of universal literacy. I do not know whether 'the paradoxical symptoms of superiority in progress,' which H. Ellis calls 'ambiva-

lent,' like the growth of population and the decline in the birth and death-rates, are due to this inherent defects of the statistical method or to the very nature of civilization itself which, as Niceforo was forced to concede, 'is never an exclusive mass of benefits, showing an upward tendency, but a mass of values, positive and negative.'

Progress can be best understood as a problem covering the whole field of human endeavour. It has a direction in time. It is a means or tactics of development. Fundamentally it is a problem of the balancing of values.

The scope of the problem is as wide as human society and as deep as human personality. In so far as human values arise only in contact with human consciousness at its different levels, the problem of progress has unique reference to the changing individual living in a particular region at a particular time in association with other individuals who share with him common customs, beliefs, traditions, apperceptions and possibly a common temperament. The dynamic unit is the individual. Social progress in the sense of a movement of the milieu of folk, place and time becomes an abstraction, a process without values, if we exclude the individual. Such exclusion may be convenient for preserving the sanctity of an *a priori* and dogmatic theory of society but is bound to give rise to misleading conclusions. It is not denied that factors other than the individual also change, but the study of such changes properly form the subject-matter of other sciences like Ecology, Climatology or Ethnology. Such changes are not charged with meaning or purpose; for values, meanings, and purposes arise only in connexion with human beings. Social change (including changes of the environment) is only the means for the attainment of the social objective, namely the development of individual personality. The term social progress may in this sense be used to denote the attempt to make social conditions—a set of indispensable means—congenial to the growth of individual personality. It is assumed that the individual personality changes under the given social conditions, but the conditions do not change of their own accord. They can be changed only by the effort of individuals consciously or unconsciously acting in the

light of their own inheritance, biological, social, or temperamental, and in accordance with their needs, desires and values. When conditions are adjusted to individual needs, desires and values, the stage is set for the development of personality. In this drama, the scenes change but only with reference to the hero of the piece, and strictly in accordance with his necessities and initiative. The action of the drama is the adaptation of events to the individual.

Sociologists who are not committed to the theory of evolution often talk of harmonious adjustments of the different sets of factors. Thus, Prof. Ellwood conceives of progress as an 'increasing adaptation to the requirements of social existence which shall harmonise all factors, whether internal or external, present or remote, in the life of humanity, securing the greatest capacity for social survival, the greatest efficiency in mutual co-operation and the greatest possible harmony in all its varied elements.' Prof. Hobhouse also had laid great stress on harmony and orderly adjustment as necessary conditions for progress.

The desire for smooth adjustment implicit in these statements looks suspiciously like the projection of the uneventful life of academic groves. It betrays a theological type of mind that must needs seek unity in diversity. This recognition of progress as a process is only a half-hearted concession to the evolutionist. The type of adjustment-process that is relevant to the study of progress is, as Prof. Carver has pointed out, an active adaptation by which environmental conditions are modified by human agency.

Certain superstitions have clustered round the word 'adaptation.' In a strictly scientific sense the differences between individuals constitute variation. Variation is the mark of individuality. The given environment does not suit all individuals equally. Individuals for whom the environmental conditions are not suitable die. The survivors necessarily possess qualities better suited to the environmental conditions. Such qualities are handed down to succeeding generations through the mechanism of biological heredity. This process of natural (or survival) selection is in operation all the time. The indivi-

dual qualities which persist in virtue of their survival-value are called adaptations. The process of adaptation is not stressed in Biology; what is emphasized is the selective accumulation and propagation of variations. Adaptations are merely individual differences which have survived, and are good examples of the adage, 'nothing succeeds like success.'

Let us enquire a little more closely into the mechanism of natural selection and adaptation. When a stag grows huge antlers, or when a sun-fish grows out of its relative diodon, 'it is not in the least necessary that each part of the body should be separately moulded by natural selection. The development of one very active growth-centre near the hind end of the body will automatically bring about the bulk of the changes, and selection need only polish, so to speak, and modify detail'—this is with reference to the sun-fish. With reference to the stag with big antlers, 'a mere change in the amount of growth in one region or in one direction can wholly transform an animal.' There are simultaneous and automatic adjustment of other parts if one part is changed by the call of the environment. A most important point is that these adjustments take place within the life-cycle of the individuals as a result of a particular small change. 'The adaptations are made to build themselves anew in each generation; they are not fixed by heredity, and so mutation and selection are never called upon to help produce them.' A vast amount of the detailed adjustment of the body of this sort depend not on racial adaptation but on the functional adaptation of the individual, and the existence of all this functional adaptation means that there is so much less for mutation and natural selection to do.

What is the result of the process of natural selection? It is a temporary balance or a state of relatively good adjustment due to structural adaptation of the organism as a whole. Any change in the environment upsets this balance, and the process of sifting of variations begins again. Ultimately what happens or may happen, the biologist is not concerned with. But in the main natural selection works for stability. There are of course meteorological or biological cataclysms that Huntington and De Vries speak of. But such changes are rare. In this humdrum

life, natural selection is like *Vishnu* the Preserver (and unlike *Mahadeva* the Time-God) all for conservation, and the Wheel is plied against the out-of-the-ordinary who may be suspected of any intention to upset the balance. Mutations are not easily tolerated. On the whole, they are rejected from the germ-plasm of the species, 'the reduced vigour which they entail leads to their automatic elimination.' Usually natural selection is very much against extreme novelties. It may be safely concluded from the above generalization that there is an inertia of the environmental adjustment. It might mean (if environments are comparatively stable) at first an increasing specialization, and finally a perpetuation of such specialization. But owing to constant changes in the environment what actually happens is this—'the result of Evolution and Natural selection is a constant increase in fitness. But there are limitations to the perfection of fit attained. Trial and Error is a rough and ready method. What it produces is something that will work, by no means necessarily something that will work perfectly. The creatures that exist are those that happen to have survived; taken together they represent an equilibrium which manages to be more or less stable, rather than life's best possible way of utilising and sharing the resources of earth'.

Natural selection is thus merely the description of a process, and a rough and ready process at that. It is not a force, it is not a cause, it does not produce anything. It is only a 'non-energetic factor' of evolution, 'simply a passive stop or release of what others had produced.' 'It is a filter; it is a sieve; it is a balance to reject or accept.' It has no purpose. But it must be admitted that 'on the average, the upper level of biological attainment has been continuously raised.' We can even say that it is likely to go on raising the level, and that it is our duty 'not to oppose, but to crown the natural order; to transform it to a better, not by taking a new direction, but by accelerating and intensifying the old.'

I have taken pains to explain the nature of adaptation at some length for the simple reason that many sociologists use the word social selection as an active force operating on social norms or human beings living together. They tacitly assume

that social selection is an active force. We have seen that its original model, natural selection itself, is not a force; it is merely a wasteful process which serves mainly to conserve the existing order through a rough selection of random variations and occasional mutations. Social evolution is on a different footing altogether. It starts with human invention and proceeds through the interaction of human minds. Human inventions are not simply chance combinations, but rational reconstructions of past experiences having a cumulative effect on the whole. Rational inventions, as opposed to random variations and mutations, are stimulated by wants which with the march of time cease to be primary and instinctive and begin to be secondary and creative. Besides these wants and propensities there are other occasions which stimulate invention or creation. 'Instinctive activities, and after the beginning of social evolution, the habits that are built up about instincts and supplement them with conduct almost as automatic as the functioning of instincts and involving only a minimum of attention, flow on unchanged until an occasion arises in which this instinctive and habitual conduct does not satisfy the wants, so that the propensities are unusually stimulated and attention unusually excited; then inventions may occur.' Natural selection is blind. Social change is not, and if there are intelligent people in society, *i.e.*, if knowledge and reason are spread in the community, and the facilities for imitation, of rational conduct are present, social change can very well afford to have both eyes wide open. The non-immediate, the non-instinctive, the non-necessary, the non-hedonistic, and the non-blind urges of human beings living together and communicating with one another break up the linear unity of nature into two main gradients. The emergence of human purpose is a fact of supreme importance in sociology. It may itself be the outcome of natural selection, but its distinction from natural selection is clear and decisive for social evolution.

A study of psychological adjustment between man and his social environment is therefore of greater importance to sociology than a study of biological selection. The social environment lengthens and weakens the chain that binds man with nature.

The word environment must be used with great caution with reference to society. There is something of givenness in its concept, but in fact the social environment which creates the stimuli for human beings to respond to is essentially artificial in the sense of man-made. For any particular individual the environment is more or less given. But considering the environment as a whole it consists of nothing but a series of inventions, not all of the highest order, but nevertheless inventions.

Mr. Bernard has given a valuable analysis of the different types of environments.* The social environments are divided into two main categories, (1) the Physico-social, like machines, tools, communications, etc, including all mechanical and scientific inventions. In this category are 'the products of the human reaction upon the physical environments, and by means of which cosmic processes, chemical factors in the soil, other inorganic resources, such as the metals and the natural fuels, and natural dynamic agencies, such as falling water, winds, tides, etc., are so transformed as better to meet the needs of man'; (2) the Bio-social, consisting of domesticated plants and animals and in some cases human beings used as tools; the inventions transform 'the organic world in such a way as to render it more serviceable to man as a means to his adjustment to nature and to other men than it is in its natural form.' It must be admitted that inventions under these two heads, even when accidental and environmental, have some element of conscious adaptation of means to ends and some sort of purposiveness. Then we come to another type of environment, itself a by-product of the previous two types, but having such a unique element of its own that it exercises a most potent influence on man. (3) The Psycho-social environment, consisting of the inner behaviours of individuals, such as attitudes and ideas, of the 'uniformities of inner behaviour occurring in collective units and perceived as customs, folk-ways, conventions, traditions, beliefs, mores, etc., and language-symbols, requiring a new type of invention, and necessarily a new type of communicable content, viz., science.'

*Introduction to Social Psychology, Ch. VI. *American Journal of Sociology*, 1925. Davis and Barnes: Introduction to Sociology, Book II, Ch. II.

Social institutions emerge as a result of the interaction of the derivative environments for social control. The distinguishing feature of the psycho-social control is the predominance of the psychic element in the inventions. Says Prof. Bernard, "the psychic element is even more marked in the recent inventions which are made projectively and abstractly rather than empirically. The more complex modern inventions are made not as step by step improvements of existing instruments or compounds of the same class or kind, but as new synthetic creations which utilise the formulas of science for the building of wholly new objects. Such inventions are created first in the imagination, perhaps by the use of mathematical or other symbolic formulas and are later transformed into visible material structures. Such a process of invention is in the highest degree Psychic." With written language, a new gradient of social environment is discovered. Once man learns to respond to words and their meanings, the reproduction of responses and behaviours is made communicable. The possibility of such a human behaviour marks the highest gradient of the past series of adjustments for controlling nature. Language has put man on a different level altogether.

Such is the picture of the history of social adjustment in gradients. The main direction of change is indicated by the history. The direction, however, is not linear. Social evolution has passed through many phases, and it is not possible to trace a uniform tendency everywhere. It will be probably better to call the tendency a directivity rather than a direction. This directivity is not a force or a cause. Primarily it is the description of movement, an interpretation of changes or transformation taking place in time. In the process of adjustment between man and his social environment, directivity is posited in the transition from the levels in which controls of the automatic nervous system (concerned with nutrition, reproduction, protection and well-being) are dominant, to the stage in which cortical controls, through the integration of past experience, establish new modes of development. Through repression and sublimation, symbols are created by which previous modes of action and thought-patterns are either reinstated or rejected.

These symbolic psycho-social controls in their turn begin to dominate the cortical and the automatic process. This transition from the dominance of automatic controls to the dominance of storage symbols is the most important aspect of the element of directivity involved in social progress.

It is all right to stress the true point of view, but, at the same time, it is equally necessary to understand why the true point of view is so easily missed. I believe there are three chief reasons for the misunderstanding. The first is that the symbolic controls, *i.e.*, words and ideas, become stereotyped in course of time. Thus the idea of progress or of equality or liberty lose their meaning after a certain period when they no longer 'serve as suggestion stimuli for the release of conditioned responses.' A reconstruction of their original significance is next to impossible. The second reason is that the tempo of social change or movement is wrongly supposed to be of a uniform quality. This error is the corollary to a mistaken application of the theory of evolution by which species were at first believed to be fixed, and when the idea of fixity of species was shaken, the tempo of natural selection working through variation was assumed to be unchanging. But even more striking than the survival of the fittest is the belatedness of the fitting. This is with reference to Nature, the evolution of which may either become a graceless drift towards a dead end or a triumphant procession towards perfection, with the choice governed by chance or Providence. In social evolution, however, there are many cross currents. For example human beings often show a surprising degree of adjustment to misfits. According to Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji, in certain extremely congested areas the hopelessly low standard of living has made Indian peasants perfectly contented. Prof. Hocking says, 'no being is so domiciled in mutilations as man, His fitness for the unfit must have its scope.' If it is so in the case of the ordinary man, for the genius the maladjustment is tragic. The tears of the hungry man of genius drown all the philosophy of the struggle for existence, and no sermonizing on his lack of character, *i.e.*, his incapacity for achieving success in this world of social selection, is adequate compensation for the loss sustained in the meanwhile. The third reason for

the misunderstanding is that social change is often mistaken to be a rectilinear and unilinear advance in time.

A discussion of the last source of misunderstanding is necessary. Time is the hero of the piece. Optimists fondly believe that just because a certain number of years have been added to the 1st year after the death of Christ, everything is for the good, and all is right with the world. They find virtue in mere quantity and accumulation. They are the liberal reformers who must do good. There are also the pessimists who, for the very same reason, condemn whatever has happened. They are the conservatives and historians of ancient times who would reconstruct the present in the light of the past. In one case, anticipation, and in the other, memory, governs the attitude towards change. As anticipation and memory are extensions of the specious present forward and backward in time, they have no intrinsic quality of their own except their appeal to sentiment. We must know something more about time, for another very important problem of progress is whether time moves the universe or time is only a feature of the unceasing flux of events, whether time is superior to man or man is out to conquer time.

Religion, Mathematics, Physics and the Philosophy of Evolution have all tried to comprehend the nature of time. I shall not attempt to describe what religion has achieved, for the reason that religion being the tactics of a particular line of development cannot have any disinterested understanding of the problem of development itself. When there is a hiatus between individual death and general final resurrection, the soul can only hope, and hope in the faith it was born in. The nature of time involved in such conceptions is often nothing but a compound of faith and hope mixed in different proportions by the priest. I know nothing about Mathematics and Physics. But this is what I am told by eminent scientists in their lucid intervals. Before Einstein, it was considered that all purposes would be served in all circumstances if there were a single physical space and a single public time unrelated to each other, but correlated to the private space and time of any individual. Now Einstein denies the sufficiency for all purposes of this construct, a single physical space and a single public time,

independent of each other, as affording the basis of a system of spatial and temporal measurements which will completely accord with the spatio-temporal experiences of all observers under all circumstances. There is this much of truth in the new metrics that different individuals in different situations may have different rhythms of time which need not necessarily coincide; in other words, the flow of time is not necessarily uniform, the lapse of time of which alone men can be ordinarily conscious is not simply the difference of two numbers of a simply ordered manifold, the arithmetic continuum, which is the sole element of temporal intuition allowed by Newton. On the other hand, the new notion of space-time, based as it is on a new geometry and a new kinematics, reduces every item of our experience to a system of singularities in the metric system and leaves us more or less in the air. The disciples of Einstein are humble enough to admit however that it is not their business to prove that space-time is real. For them the question of reality does not arise. If physical events and entities can be suitably represented in the new geometry (4, 5, or more dimensional) they are satisfied. We therefore bid adieu to Mathematics and Physics, for we as laymen refuse to read more in Einstein than Profs. Whitehead, Hobson, or Eddington can do. We appreciate their humility and pass on with the remark that their admirable views of space-time cannot serve as the basis of a new conception of Reality or Progress.

As an ordinary individual is not a *Yogi*, he must co-ordinate his life with other individuals living in association with him. The individual has got a private time of his own determined by his own memory and anticipation, *i.e.*, the ensemblage of his mental patterns. As he lives in society he is obliged to adjust his private time in terms of conventional time which is divisible into units of the same length and quality but distinguishable by numbers. Apart from these two aspects there is an universal aspect of time, for societies are related to one another, and we must think of the world as an integral whole. As adjustments are made between the private and social aspects of time in terms of a single time-order, so must we relate social events to world-history in the same unique series. A further generalization

yields time as a mystic, abstract, entity flowing eternally in a set measure but divisible into past and future according to the dictates of memory and purpose. Beyond these three there is yet another aspect, timelessness, a state in which there is no sequence, no change, no movement, no direction, no division of attention. Mystics claim to have reached this state and conquered time. But it is a Pyrrhic victory for at the moment of triumph (called *nirvikalpa samadhi*) movement, direction and all dynamic experiences vanish. A glimpse of this state may perhaps be had in dreamland or '*sushupti*,' the world of the Unconscious, where there is no time or only a different order of time, as Dunne has recorded, because of its sheltered existence from the world of change.

For our purpose, it is therefore best to understand time as 'a concept constructed by each individual under the influence of society in which he lives.' It is a part, a mechanism of social adjustment. Psychologically speaking, time has no structure. Metaphysically, if it is made prior to the universe, it becomes nonsense. 'It cannot be made an independent terminus of knowledge,' as Prof. Whitehead himself has pointed out. We can experience duration only through our senses. The specious present is the 'vivid fringe of memory tinged with anticipation. This vividness lights up the discriminated field within duration.' In other words, time is, because events happen. Events happen to individuals who lend them meanings. Events happen to groups of men also, in which case they are invested with social meanings. Social organization of time, as Mary Burt has shown, is centred in the content of time. But this content is purely mental. Mental organization differs from individual to individual, and even in the same individual in different situations. As soon as the individual succeeds in relating events, he can be said to have partially transcended the colourless, meaningless and barren uniformity of conventional time. When he relates them to his own changing experiences, he establishes meanings. This mental act of giving meanings endows conventional time with values. With the endowment of values time ceases to be an extraneous entity thrust upon the individual from outside. The investment of conventional time with values may

therefore be considered to be a process in which the individual attains freedom from the necessity of conforming to an external series of temporal succession.

Progress, so far as time adjustment is concerned, is therefore a movement of freedom. I have noted how this freedom is incompatible with any theory of 'History as Becoming.' One confession of M. Bergson is highly significant in this connexion. 'An inner life with well-distinguished moments and with clearly characterised states will answer better the requirements of social life.' How far this inner life is intuitive or not is not important here. What is of vital significance is that our time-adjustments should be made in such a way that we should be free from the necessity of remaining in social contact for every moment of our life. This is an important condition of progress. In leisure alone can man conquer the tyranny of time, by investing it with a meaning, a direction, a memory and a purpose. Obstacles to leisure, including the demands of a hectic social life often mistaken for progress, must be removed in order that the inner personality of man may get the opportunity for development. This is why the Hindu philosopher wisely insists on the daily hour of contemplation, and after a certain age a well-marked period of retirement from the turmoil of life. The bustle of modern civilization is growing apace and the need for retirement is becoming greater.

So Natural Selection and Time do not furnish men with the motive-power of progress, for they are not forces at all. The real motive-power is the individual's sense of values. When this sense is creative the process of adjustment with directivity and purpose is transformed into progress. The choice of values of course has its own background of natural environment in so far as it is conditioned by the region to which the individual belongs. It has also the background of social environment which is chiefly the recruiting ground of acquired traits. These two environments supply the appetites and needs which must be satisfied. In they remain unsatisfied, the individual's freedom to guide his conduct, private and social, and thus control his environment, becomes limited. It is a matter of common knowledge that maladjustments are drags on progress. The sense of

values, *i.e.*, the capacity for judgment and selection is a result of experience. Once experience in one sphere is gathered, the sense of values of that gradient may become the starting point of another set of experiences leading to a new gradient. (The new gradient may be called 'higher' or 'lower'; this point is not important.)

The sense of values is not simply intellectual discrimination. It includes instinctive attractions and repulsions, tropisms and reflexes, as well as cognitive, affective and conative elements. The sense of values is not stationary. It changes with the life of the individual, and at any given instant may be considered to be a resultant of the whole body of his past experience, conscious and unconscious. In other words, the perception of values has a history, but a history not in the sense of Spengler or Croce, as becoming or unfolding in accordance with its own secret laws, obliterating all marks and periods and closing with a flourish in the present, *i.e.*, the moment when the author is composing his grandiose sentences. The sense of values is cumulative, for the past acts of evolution leave their trace. A cumulative sense cannot but have a direction and a richness of purpose. This purpose must not have its origin referred to the present moment, either to make us feel infinitely superior to all that had preceded, or to make us abjectly humble before the potentialities which are in the lap of the future. A sense of superiority or inferiority has nothing to do with the values themselves. The element of purpose in the sense of values is again not to be understood as purely teleological. This purpose is primarily the satisfaction of needs and appetites. But as has been noted already, with increasing cortical dominance, new needs and appetites are created which have no basis in the mere preservation of life. From this point of view, valuation can be disinterested. Each need or appetite is a store of energy. Its energy is liberated by the opposition of another need which demands immediate attention. The need creates a behaviour pattern which is more stable and real than the need itself, which, it must be admitted, never works singly, but always in alliance with other subsidiary needs and is coloured by emotions. The instability of a behaviour-pattern is the only index available to the urge of the

appetite. This behaviouristic explanation goes a great way towards explaining the process of valuation.

In the needs created by social and biological environments the behaviouristic explanation may suffice. There the unifying element is supplied by the homogeneity of common customs, beliefs, traditions and folkways. There is no need to postulate the third device of intuition for the explanation of spiritual appetites. It is a consequence of the further development of individuality.

But there is point about the behaviourist explanation of values regarding which I am not clear. By meaning, I generally understand the relation of needs to a human being. Einstein's theory (or explanation, whatever it may be), might appear useless to an ordinary man, or to a composer, or to an architect, but it was certainly full of meaning for Einstein himself and also to his disciples. Yet the behaviourists assert that value is self-generated. I can never persuade myself to think that behaviourism is the complete explanation of values.

There is something residing somewhere which eludes the grasp of the behaviourist. That residual something need not be god, need not be soul, nor any other such mystic substance. Let us give it any name we like, the fact remains that it is there, and that it exercises potent influence on the acts of valuation. Let us provisionally call it Personality. There is some justification for doing so. It has been observed that beneath or behind the different behaviours of different 'personalities' of the same individual, there is one ultimate personality which is indissoluble. We know little that is definite regarding this unanalysed element. There cannot, however, be any doubt that it has an important function in our lives. It is that guiding force which co-ordinates and binds together different patterns of behaviour; and in its act of co-ordination it gives rise to meanings and values.

But change, purposiveness, directivity, or meanings all fail to give a completely satisfactory solution of the problem of progress. The very nature of the human mind is such as to seek a basic foundation. This foundation is called Reality by the philosophers. It has been sought to be described in many ways and with the help of many names. One out of these many factors

is usually conceived as the active principle in terms of which the remaining elements are explained. The choice of the particular principle which is thus seized upon for the purpose of explanation depends entirely on the personal predilections of the individual philosopher. It is ultimately a matter of individual choice.

Probably a better way of comprehending Reality is to look upon it as the ensemble of the whole system of reals (known and unknown) possessing an independent value of its own which transcends the separate values of the individual reals. On this view, however, it is still necessary to construct the system of reals. And here the difficulty of personal choice again crops up. This difficulty, however, is inherent in the problem itself, for in a question of values we can never completely eliminate the personal factor.

The description of Reality given by the Upanishads has an irresistible appeal for the Indian mind: Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam. The first is the principle of harmony which sustains the universe amidst all its incessant changes, movements and conflicts. The second is the principle of co-ordination in the social environment. The third gives expression to the Unity which transcending all the diverse forms of states, behaviours, and conflicts, permeates thought and action with ineffable joy. We reach three ultimate values; Peace, Welfare and Unity. The motive power of progress is the urge towards Joy in Harmony, Welfare and Unity. There are different levels at which this urge operates, but it is only when the individual begins to realize the three-fold principle that life becomes fully charged with meaning. In and through such realization the life of the individual attains its personality. On this view, progress ultimately depends on the development of personality, on the realization of the principle of Harmony, Welfare and Unity.

How far existing social agencies help the growth of personality is a different question. In modern times Science probably fulfils this purpose more than anything else. But Science itself will be futile unless it is related to the co-ordinating principle in the life of the individual, namely, the personality of man.

(Mss. received August, 1930.)

MODERN MOVEMENTS IN ISLAM

By JULIUS GERMANUS.

III. Persia.

The Persians take a unique position among the peoples professing Islam. Numberless centuries before the revelation of the Koranic religion Persia had a remarkable culture and a highly developed civilization. In ancient times it was the cradle of thoughts and aspirations which illumined mankind with deep religious ideas radiating to Iranian and non-Iranian peoples. It was the centre of a mighty political organization which brought forth imperial influences reaching even to the far-off Balkans and stirring up the evolution of Greece. The arts and crafts of administration and of military organization were first developed to a paramount superiority by Persians in their defensive actions against their Northern foes, the ever-roaming restless hordes of the Central Asiatic plains, the Turanians. Their strategy and state-craft became a model to the Turks who adopted and further developed Persian achievements on the field of warfare.

Speculative and fanciful, but endowed with an uncommonly rich intellect, the history of Persian culture is one of the most splendid spectacles in the evolution of civilization. Every external influence which has enriched their mental store in the course of their history, became blended with their character, which augmented, embellished and variegated, has still in its innermost recesses retained an irradicable fascination for the spiritual, the fantastic, the extravagant, and the artistic. Islam, with its matter of fact theology, grew through contact with the Persian intellect into a vivid transcendentalism which reared a metaphysics, the exuberant foliage of which threatened to crush its very roots and foundations. Islamic doctrine even in its most sober aspects gained an allegoric meaning in the eyes of Persians with whom everything was so highly spiritualized that contact with reality was often lost. Islam suffered more

heresies at the hands of Persians than of all other races professing the religion of the Prophet. The dogmatism of Semitic Islam blossomed into metaphysical speculations in which lie embedded the memories of Persian mental history. We therefore find that the same old theme crops up again and again in a new garment and under a new name and is always hailed with boundless enthusiasm.

In modern times a movement which has rapidly gained ground not only in the East but also in Europe and America and which has become a religion supposedly professed by millions has its roots in Persia. A new religion has arisen, a religion of humanity, a universal creed for the whole of mankind which in its present form is not only a factor of social and perhaps of political importance in Persia, but to judge by its literature written in English, seems to have been enthusiastically accepted by many Americans. The religion of Bahá'ism is a characteristic example of the Persian spirit. It is a remarkable phenomenon that in countries which show such a deep contrast in cultural matters as America and Persia, this religion has made such an amazing progress. This alone would justify our interest in its study.

It is known that after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the Muslim community soon split asunder into hostile parties which in the course of time developed into distinct theological sects : the Sunnis and the Shiites, the latter being the partisans of Ali. According to the Shiite view Muhammad appointed Ali to succeed him as the spiritual head of Islam but his rights were usurped by the first three Caliphs (Abu Bakar, Omar, and Othman). The Shiites of course do not approve of and do not believe in the legality of the election of a Caliph, as this office, or as they call it, the Imámate, is inherent in Ali and his descendants. It was conferred by God first upon the Prophet, then upon Ali by the Prophet and afterwards on Ali's descendants. It has, therefore, nothing to do with popular choice or approval. The Caliph of the Sunnis is an outward, visible, defender of the faith; the Imám of the Shiites is the divinely ordained successor of the Prophet, endowed with all

perfections and spiritual gifts, whom all the faithful must obey, whose decision is absolute and final, whose wisdom is superhuman, and whose words are authoritative. The Imámítes are descendants of Ali's son Husayn who according to popular belief had married the daughter of the Persian-Sassanian king, Yazdigird III, and who died a martyr's death at Kerbela (A.D. 680). This explains the affection in which the Imáms are held in Persia, since they are regarded as the direct descendants not only of the Prophet but also of the royal house of Sassan. The Imámítes are divided into the Ismáílís or adherents of the seven Imáms, and the Ithna Ashariya or adherents of the twelve Imáms. We are mostly concerned with the latter here.

The twelfth Imám left no male issue, but as the world cannot do without an Imám, the Shiites of the sect of the twelve Imáms—the state religion of Persia since the 16th century—believed that the last Imám never died but only retired from mortal ken and resides in a fabulous town called Jabulka among his faithful disciples from where he will issue forth in the fullness of time to do justice among mankind. He will appear as the Imám Mahdi, the God-directed, whose messianic advent every Shiite is eagerly expecting. It is held that since the disappearance of the Imám two main periods have passed : (a) the minor occultation (*ghaibat-i-sughra*) A.H. 260-329 (A. D. 873-942) during which four intermediaries communicated his instructions who were called the *Báb*, or gate, as they permitted entrance to the will of the Imám; (b) the major occultation (*ghaibat-i-kubra*) during which no intercourse, not even indirect, was possible with the Imám. At the end of the 19th century Sheikh Ahmed al-Ahsai revived the idea that amongst the Shiites there must always be one perfect man capable of serving as a channel of grace between the absent Imám and his church. Thus such personages as were convinced of their superhuman faculty and Godly inspiration may consider themselves as intermediaries, as gates so to say, to the knowledge of the absent Imám. In the 10th century a certain Ash-Shalmaghani ibn Abi Azakir had suffered death under the Caliph Ar-Rádhi for assuming this same title of *Báb* and for teaching heretical doctrines which included among others the tenet of

transmigration of souls. Sheikh Ahmed and his successor, Seyyid Kazim of Rasht, did not however make use of the title Báb, but their conception of the 'perfect Shiite' was identical with the idea connoted by this title.

The tenets of the Sheikhhi school may be summarised as follows: Sheikh Ahmed believed that the body of man was composed of parts derived from each of the nine heavens and the four elements; that the grosser elemental part perished irrevocably at death and that only the more subtle celestial portion would appear at the resurrection. He named the subtle body: *jism huwarkilya* (which seems to be derived from a Greek word, perhaps Hercules?) and believed it to be similar in substance to the forms in the world of similitudes. He denied that the Prophet's material body had, on the occasion of his night journey to heaven, moved from the spot where it lay in a trance. He believed himself to be under the special guidance of the Imáms. He regarded the Imáms as creative forces and based his thesis on dialectics. For God is spoken of in the Koran (23.14.) "the best of Creators"; consequently He cannot be the sole creator. He went so far in his ultra-Shiite tendencies that he interpreted the words of the first chapter of the Koran: *iyyáka na'budu* (Thee do we worship) as referring to Ali.

After the death of Seikh Ahmed, Hajji Seyyid Kazim of Rasht was unanimously recognized as the leader of his school. Kazim did not nominate a successor. According to Bábi historians he had hinted that the transitional state of things under which he and his master Sheikh Ahmed had assumed the guidance of the faithful was drawing to a close, and that a brighter light was about to shine forth from the horizon of the spiritual world. From whatever quarter the sun of truth shall arise it will irradiate all horizons and render the mirrors of believers' hearts capable of receiving the effulgence of the lights of wisdom. The Sheikhis were anxiously expecting the appearance of some one who should assume the leadership of their party. One of them, Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh proceeded to Shiráz, and on his arrival there paid a visit to Mirza Ali Muhammad, with whom he had

¹ I have closely followed the histories of Bábism and Baháísm translated, edited and ably expounded by the late Prof. Browne.

become acquainted at Kerbela and who was also a staunch adherent of the school.¹ Mirza Ali Muhammad learning of the death of Kázim, announced his divine mission, and adduced in support of his claims, the commentary on the Sura of Joseph. Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh was soon convinced of the truth of the young man's assertion and heralded the advent of the new leader, who assumed the title of 'Báb'. Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh became the gate of the gate and the first letter or the first to believe. The rapidity with which the movement spread was wonderful. Representatives of all classes hastened to tender their allegiance to the young Seer of Shiráz, but it was from the old Sheikhi party that the most eminent supporters of the new faith were recruited. The followers of the Báb were called Bábis. A number of the Sheikhis however refused to recognise him and adhered to another representative of the doctrine, Hajji Muhammad Karim Khán; and a fierce quarrel ensued between the two parties. The orthodox Sheikhis proved to be the foremost and most implacable enemies of the Bábis and their relentless persecutors. There was very little difference between the preachings of Mirza Ali Muhammad called the 'Báb,' and those of Hajji Muhammad Karim, since each claimed to be neither more nor less than the intermediary between the absent Imám and his followers, exactly in the same way as were the four original gates who had served as channels of communication between the Twelfth Imám and his followers during the period of the minor occultation.

It was in 1844 that the new light arose on the horizon of the Shiites, but it was bitterly challenged by the followers of other 'lights' who claimed an equally valid heavenly inspiration, although their success among mankind still continued to be determined by mundane factors. The historical importance of any idea is not determined by its intrinsic merits, or its alleged divine origin, but often depends on the skill with which it is adapted by its expounders to suit local conditions. The history of Bábism, a new religion arising out of the soil of Persian Shiism, with its appeal to the imaginative, the heroic perseverance of its martyrs, the unscrupulous machinations by which each faction assailed its antagonists, and the final adaptation of

the doctrine to the tastes and predilections of modern minds, corroborates this old maxim of history.

The Báb was only 27 years of age at the time of his manifestation. The sensation created by his advent frightened the ulamas, and they induced the Government to arrest him and after a trial to condemn him to imprisonment. This action on the part of the Persian Government added to his fame, and gave impetus to the proselytizing efforts of his followers. The clash with the intolerant followers of orthodoxy soon provoked reprisals which led to bloody conflicts. Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh and Hajji Muhammad Ali took shelter in an old fortress in Mazenderán which had to be taken by storm after a siege of 7 months; revolts and risings of the followers of the Báb occurred at Zanzan, Yazd and Niriz which were put down with great cruelty on the part of Government. The spread of the new creed was amazing. In the course of 6 years the whole of Persia was filled with Bábis, a clear proof that the idea appealed to the imaginative Persians. The revolutionary attitude of the Bábis gained many adherents among the peasants who were dissatisfied with the economic situation in Persia, and the Government was compelled to try to crush the movement at its root. The lenient treatment accorded to the Báb up till then was abandoned and he was sentenced to death on the charge of high treason and was executed at Tabriz in 1850. This was followed by a vigorous persecution of his followers. Finally in 1852, when an attempt at the life of the Shah was perpetuated by some of the Bábis, the whole sect was violently suppressed. The beautiful poetess Kurrat ul Ayn and many others, innocent of all complicity in the conspiracy, were tormented and cruelly murdered. Some of the initiates fled to Baghdad, and a branch of Bábis arose from this small group of exiles. They modified the doctrine and developed it into a form more acceptable to those who had no sympathy for the exuberant fancies of the Persian mind. Among these fugitives there was a lad, called Mirza Yahya who was such an enthusiastic believer in the Báb's manifestation that he had travelled across the whole of Persia with his half-brother Mirza Husayn Ali to see the Báb. The Báb heard of Mirza Yahya's zeal and devotion, and declared that in him was fulfilled

the prophecy long current in Shiite tradition in the form of a conversation between Ali and Kumayl 'regarding the coming of a light shining from the dawn of eternity.' The Báb conferred on Mirza Yahya the title of Subh-i-Ezel (the dawn of eternity),² gave him his own ring and authorized him to develop the philosophy of Bábism as he thought fit, and appointed him as his own successor.

On the Báb's death Subh-i-Ezel was unanimously recognised as the spiritual head of the sect. But his half-brother who had received the name of Baháullah, the Splendour of God, came into greater prominence owing to the retiring habits and also on account of the extreme youth of the leader himself. Other claimants to the leadership also arose but did not gain any following. The two brothers lived in peace and harmony at Baghdad, where the Turkish Government had permitted them to reside and where they had many followers. Here the original doctrine underwent many changes. Baháullah conducted a secret but successful propaganda in Persia. He matured his ideas for the future, and gradually remodelled the tenets for which the martyrs in Persia had sacrificed their lives. The circumstances in Baghdad gave him a wider horizon and this compelled him to take a broader view. He retired for two years to the hills of Kurdistan to meditate upon his ideas. Subh-i-Ezel still adhered to the orthodox tenets of Bábism but his peace-loving nature prevented an open hostility with Baháullah.

As time ripens the blossom into luscious fruit there occurs a profound change in the outward appearance, although the organic continuity is not destroyed. Similarly a religious idea becomes changed in the course of time by the influence of leaders who have an active grasp of the realities of the situation. Bábism has been altered profoundly by the gradual assimilation of new conceptions, some of which were entirely foreign to the original doctrine. According to Bábi views, the essence of God, the primal divine Unity, is unknowable and entirely transcends human comprehension. We can know nothing about it, we

² The language of the Báb himself and the terminology of transcendental lore used by his followers reflect the exuberant flight of fancy which often glorified beautiful words without much meaning. The followers were given fantastic names full of esoteric allusions.

see only its manifestation in the succession of prophets. There is no fundamental divergence or conflict between the prophets, all of whom represent the same Universal Reason. Their teachings differ only in outward form according to the particular needs of the time. The Báb is also considered to be one of these manifestations (the Ismáili sect has seven incarnations of the Deity, called Nátik, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, Muhammad and Ismáil), and the party of Subh-i-Ezel continued to revere him as such, while the followers of Baháullah looked upon Baháullah as this manifestation. It is incumbent on the prophets to use the language appropriate to his audience. It will be different for little children, or for young men or for men of mature age. The prophet's words must not therefore be taken too literally, but must be explained with reference to the actual circumstances in which they are uttered. This is the justification of an allegorical interpretation which is so dear to the Shiite mind. The Ismáili sect was equally prone to explain away the literal meaning of revealed scriptures; when the Korán says, that Jesus had no father, the interpretation is that he received instructions from no trustworthy teacher: when it says that he raised the dead, it signifies that he brought knowledge to dead understanding. The Bábis handled this allegorical interpretation (ta'wil) in a masterly way. They denied the physical existence of Paradise or Hell; as the rough Arabs could not understand ethical values Muhammad spoke to them of Good and Evil in symbolic form. When, in course of time, one particular form of expression in the teachings of a prophet becomes obsolete, a new manifestation appears and modifies the teaching in a suitable way to advance the eternal progress of the world. The Bábi doctrine is most definite on this point. It recognises and emphasizes changes in human affairs, and wishes to mould every thought in accordance with the progress of the world. There can be no final revelation and no last prophet, an idea which was very sympathetic to the philosophy of evolution, and which in its narrowest sense had also been avowed by Mirza Ghulám Ahmad. According to the Bábi doctrine the prophets, as manifestations of the Universal Reason, were forerunners of progress and were always in advance of mankind. This is why every

prophet had been and must be rejected by his own people. So did also the Báb fare, when one thousand years after the disappearance of the Twelfth Imám (A. H. 260; the Báb's manifestation took place in 1260 A. H.), he was persecuted and put to death. In order to prevent mankind from falling into the same error he emphasized that even his manifestation was not the last and that others would again come in future ages to bring new revelations suited to new circumstances and altered conditions.

The theory of evolution seems to be embodied in a theology which believed in a succession of prophethood all manifesting the one and the same Universal Intelligence but under diverse conditions and aspects. This view, which is apt to make Bábism a sympathetic doctrine even to modern rationalists, was not, however, the source of inspiration for the innumerable martyrs who died for Bábism. What attracted them to the new creed even at the cost of their lives was the mystic doctrine of Bábism which was full of transcendental correspondences and equivalents between names based on numerical values of letters, and of the theory of divine manifestation.

Almost all the constituent elements of Bábism had their source in the mediæval heresies of Persian origin. The nation instinctively cherished and clung to these mystic doctrines in which it found a peculiar charm.

Muhammad very soon discarded the title of the Báb and assumed that of the Point (*Nuqta*). There is a spurious tradition according to which Ali is supposed to have said that all that was in the Korán was contained implicitly in the opening chapter, and all that was in this chapter was contained in the first line (*Bismillah*), and finally in turn in the initial *B* of the *Bismillah* and this in turn in the point which stands under the Arabic *B*, and Ali is also supposed to have said "I am the point which stands under the *B*."

Mirza Muhammad was henceforth called the Primal Point, or His Holiness the First Point : the manifestation of the Primal Will. The Bábis believed that the primal will is incarnated in the intermediaries between man and God. In one sense it is identical with God, for a tradition says that whosoever visited

Husayn in his tomb was as one who hath visited God on His Throne. So likewise the Báb said "Oh Ali, none hath known God save I and thee; and none hath known me save God and thee, and none hath known thee save God and I."

Bábi mentality may be appreciated by the following extracts from the *Nuqtatu'l-Káf*, one of the earliest and most authentic histories: 'as the same mirror may at different times reflect different objects, so the same individual may successively become the returns (or recurrences) of different prototypes.' When Mirza Muhammad, speaking more freely, as his followers became more receptive of divine mysteries, declared himself to be the Point, Mullah Husayn ceased to be only the Gate of Gate and became the actual Gate; and when he was killed, his brother Mirza Muhammad Hasan in turn received the title. But this is not all. Mirza Ali Muhammad was first of all, Báb, or Gate, then Zikr or Reminder, than Nuqta or Point. For a while Mullah Muhammad Ali of Barfurush became the Point, and Mirza Ali Muhammad relapsed into being his Báb and during this time wrote nothing. "Sometimes it happens," so runs the *Nuqtatu'l-Káf*, "that the Point becomes quiescent in effulgence and that this effulgence becomes manifested in the Gate, just as the apostle of God did not wield the sword but his wrath was made manifested in the form of Ali. But after the death of God's apostle, Ali became the Point and Heaven of Will, and Hasan became the Gate and the Earth of Devotion, while Husayn and Salmán and the rest were the Letters of the Living. So likewise in speaking of the Islamic cycle of prophethood, so long as Muhammad was alive, Ali declared himself to be only a servant amongst his servants, but that, so soon as the Prophetic Mirror (by which is meant the sovereign form of Muhammad) was shattered to pieces, in less time than a twinkling of an eye, it (the Sun of Truth) arose in the mirror of Saintship (saintship represents the esoteric aspect of religion) so that Ali thus became the Mirror or 'Manifestation' of the Primal Will and the Proof of God upon earth was able to say: 'I am Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad.' All theophanies are identical in essence and differ only in circumstance, just as the sun which shines to-day is the same as that which shone yesterday

or that which will shine to-morrow. 'These lights of the firmament of Prophethood and Saintships, like the celestial luminaries, have a rising and a setting, a manifestation and an occultation.'

It is obvious that all these notions can be explained only by means of allegorical comparisons with the phenomena of nature with which they really have nothing in common. A figurative expression takes here the place of rational thinking in terms of concepts corresponding to realities.

As to the eschatology of Bábism, it denies bodily resurrection but the spirit of the deceased may continue to take an interest in his earthly affairs, and some passages in Bábí writings also refer to the transmigration of souls, while the return to the life of his world is conceived in a symbolic sense as a reflection upon a mirror. However vague the Bábí doctrine may be on certain points it is essentially dogmatic and every utterance of the manifestation of the period must be accepted without demur. The *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* (the "Most Holy Book") of Bahá'ullah begins with "The first thing which God has presented unto His servants is knowledge of the Day, spring of His Revelation and the Dawning-place of His Command, which is the Station of His Spirit in the world of Creation and Command. Whosoever attaineth unto this hath attained unto all good, and whosoever is debarred therefrom is of the people of error, even though he produce all kinds of good deeds." The Báb and his immediate followers were not inclined to tolerance. According to the 'Bayán,' no unbelievers were to be suffered to dwell in the five principal provinces of Persia, and everywhere they were, as far as possible, to be subjected to restrictions, and kept in a position of inferiority. The Bábis are strongly antagonistic to Súfis on account of their individualism and 'inner light,' and to the orthodox Musulmans because they did not acknowledge in the Manifestations the fulfilment of Islam.

A most characteristic feature of Bábism is the belief in the intrinsic value of the letters of the Alphabet. The algebraic correspondences have puzzled men since the time of Pythagoras. In Muslim history it was the Hurúfis who first attached magic power to numbers and tried to derive secret meanings out of the numerical value of the letters of the Alphabet. Their system

was eagerly taken up and elaborated by the Turkish Bektáshi writers. The Ismáiliya sect believed in the number seven. The Deity had seven incarnations, between each of the seven incarnations there arose seven Imáms, each Imám was at the head of a heptad; seven operations were required in the making of a convert and so on. The algebraic correspondences, developed by the Bábis, are amazing. The theological system is practically built upon algebraic correspondence. The formula *Bismillah irrahmán, irrahim* (in the name of God the merciful, the compassionate) comprises 19 letters in Arabic script which are the 'Manifestation' of the Point under the B, just as the whole Korán is the further Manifestation on a plane of greater plurality of the Bismillah. The number 19 became a kind of a sacred number, a fundamental basis of the Bábi doctrine by which the truth of its tenets could be algebraically proved.

The Arabic word for one is *Wáhid*, and the numerical value of the letters composing the word give the sum ($6+1+8+4$) of 19. This unity of 19 in turn manifests itself as $19 \times 19 = 361$, which is the number of "all things" (*Kullu Shay*); the letters are numerically equivalent ($20+30+300+10$) = 360 to which by adding "the one which underlies all plurality" we get 361, the number of all things, which again is the square of 19. The number 19 was made the basis of all divisions of time, money, etc. The Bábi's idea of a coinage having 19 as its basis has however been abandoned along with many other impracticable ordinances. Thus the Bábi year comprised 19 solar months of 19 days each, to which intercalary days are added between the 18th and 19th months. The last month is consecrated to fasting. The unity is also manifested in the divine attribute *Hayy*, the Living, which equals $8+10=18$, and with the one which underlies all plurality makes 19. The Báb together with his 18 disciples constituted the letters of the Living (19). The choice of Mirza Yahya by the Báb as his successor was probably determined by the fact that the numerical value of the name Yahya was 36, a multiple of 18 on which account he was also called *Wáhid* which is numerically equivalent to 28, the number of letters constituting the Arabic alphabet. The town Adrianople, where the Bábis were exiled, was called by them the land

of mystery because the syllables in the name of the town had the same numerical value (260) which corresponds to the year in which the twelfth Imám disappeared.

This doctrine is full of metaphysical transcendentalism, and even such reforms as savour of utility, such as the amelioration of the position of women or the prohibition of chastisement of children are entirely based on mystical considerations. For example, the Báb taught that the future manifestation of God shall first appear as a child, it would therefore constitute a grave sin for any one to treat the august infant harshly, and hence it was necessary that the chastisement of children should cease. The play on words formed another important element in the philosophy of Bábism.

The conflict between Mirza Muhammad the Báb and Hajji Muhammad Karim Khán regarding the status of the Intermediary to the hidden Imám clearly shows, however, the reaction of external factors on the growth of a revealed religion. It was not the intrinsic value of the rival doctrines which decided the issue, but the influence exerted by the respective leaders on their contemporaries. The growth of a doctrine and its ultimate success is determined by the simplest human factors, anthropological and social. The fact that the social factors were of greater importance than the transcendental and metaphysical nature of the doctrines was clearly recognised by the new leader Baháullah, who by his carefully conducted propaganda succeeded in attaining a supremacy over the more dogmatic and single-minded Subh-i-Ezel.

A new period in the history of the movement set in with the rise of Baháullah. The little party of emigrants at Baghbad were too near the Persian frontier, and the Persian Government requested the Porte for their transfer to Adrianople in 1864. Here Baháullah publicly announced that it was he in whom God had become manifest in accordance with the prediction of the Báb. He strictly adhered to the doctrines of Bábism, and although there is some evidence to show that he had at one time considered himself to be merely the successor of the Báb, he now assumed a new role: he was the promised one, the real manifestation of God, to whom the Báb was only a forerunner

and herald. This announcement, like the previous announcement of a similar nature, was not accepted and recognised unanimously. Some, even among those who originally belonged to the circle of the Báb, vehemently opposed the new manifestation of God. A fierce and disgraceful quarrel attended with violence broke out between the rival parties, until finally the Turkish Government had to intervene in the fight between the two brothers. The hostile factions were segregated and exiled separately. Subh-i-Ezel, who had been nominated by the Primal point as his successor, was transferred to Famagusta in the island of Cyprus, while Baháullah was sent to Akka. To each of the factions four adherents of the opposite group were attached, so that the Turkish Government could be kept informed regarding the activities of both the parties. The followers of Baháullah put to death all the four Ezelis attached to their party. The hostility between the two Bábi factions continued with pen and dagger alike. The sect of the Ezelis which had adhered to the original doctrine in its rigid and narrow form, gradually declined in influence while the followers of Baháullah gained in strength. Baháullah succeeded in getting recognised by a large number of people as the manifestation of God, and he gradually put the Báb in the background as compared with his own heavenly splendour. The name of the sect was changed from that of Bábism to Baháism. The doctrines of the Báb were regarded only as preparatory and provisional, while Baháullah was authorized to give them a final shape and sanction. And Baháullah made full use of his authority. The Bábi religion was firmly rooted in Persian Shiitism and it had no chance of making proselytes outside the Shiite world. Baháullah discarded all restricting metaphysical peculiarities. He also modified the attitude of uncompromising hostility to the orthodox Musulmans, and to the Shah of Persia which had animated the Bábis, and adopted a conciliatory and even sympathetic attitude towards all likely converts. He developed the ethical side of the teaching, and in his letters to potentates he used a gentle and patient tone. He had a clear grasp of the aspirations of the human mind in the 20th century, and included in his teachings a very wide scheme of social

reform in a most sympathetic way, but with the simplistic views of a dreamer. Anti-alcoholism, unemployment help, women's suffrage, reform of criminology, socialism, local autonomy in political administration, universal language, international union, and general peace, all figured in his programme.

Nor was Baháullah devoid of the power of clairvoyance. In the year 1869 he wrote to Napoleon III rebuking him for his lust of war and for the contempt with which he had treated a former letter from him. The epistle contains the following stern warning: 'Thy doings will throw thy kingdom into confusion; sovereignty shall pass from thy hands to requite thee for thy deeds, and thus thou shall find thyself in grievous loss. Convulsions shall seize all peoples in yonder land, unless thou dost arise in this cause and in this straight path follow the spirit. Hath thy pomp made thee vainglorious? By my life, it shall not endure, nay, it shall pass away, unless thou dost cling unto this strong cord. We behold abasement hastening upon thy heels and thou art yet of them that are heedless'. It is characteristic that an English Bahái writer believes firmly that the debacle of France in 1870 would have been averted if Napoleon had adopted the noble cause and the straight path of the Bahái.

Baháullah was by no means led by Germanophile motives 'in beholding abasement hastening upon the heels' of Napoleon. In the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* which was begun in Adrianople and finished in Akka, he sent a similar stern admonition to the emperor of Germany:—

'O King of Berlin . . . Recollect the one who was greater than thee in station (Napoleon III), and whose position was higher than thine. Where is he? and where are his possessions? Be admonished and be not of those who sleep. He cast the tablet of God behind him when we informed him of what had befallen us from the hosts of oppression and this disgrace beset him from all sides until he returned to the dust in great loss. O King, think deeply concerning him as well as about those like unto thee who conquered cities and ruled over servants of God—and God brought them down from palaces to graves. Be warned and be of those who are mindful'.

'O Banks of the River Rhine, we have seen you drenched in gore because the swords of retribution were drawn against you. You shall have another turn. And we hear the lamentation of Berlin, although it be to-day in manifest glory.'

The English writer alluded to above says: "during the period of German success in the Great War of 1914-18, and especially during the last German offensive in the spring of 1918, this well-known prophecy was extensively quoted by the opponents of the Baháí movement in Persia in order to discredit Baháullah; but when the forward sweep of the victorious Germans was suddenly transformed into a crushing and overwhelming disaster, the efforts of these enemies of the Baháí cause recoiled on themselves, and the notoriety which they had given to the prophecy became a powerful means of enhancing the reputation of Baháullah."

A message of consolation is addressed to Persia in the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* :—

'O land of Ta (Teheran) be not sorrowful from any cause. God hath made thee the dawning place of the joy of the world. If He will, He will bless thy throne with one who will rule with justice and gather together the sheep of God which have been scattered by the wolves. Verily he will treat the people of Bahá with joy and gladness. So, he is of the essence of the people in the sight of God.'

'Rejoice, for God hath made thee a Horizon of light, because in thee was born the Dawning Place of the Manifestation. Soon affairs will be changed in thee and a republic of men shall rule over thee. Verily the countenance of Grace will not cease to behold thee with the eyes of love. Soon peace will overtake thee after commotion. Thus it hath been decreed in the Book of Wonders.'

Turkey, which had given shelter to Baháullah and his followers, did not fare better at his hands than France and Germany. There are several passages in the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* which predict the downfall of the Ottomans, but evidently his wrath was directed against this kingdom, 'than which a handful of dust is greater before God,' because it did not take up his cause in a way which would have satisfied him. 'Thou didst

unite with the Ruler of Persia for doing me harm,' so he wrote to Ali Pasha, 'although I had come to you from the Dawning Place of the Almighty, the Great, with a cause which refreshed the eyes of the favoured ones of God. Didst thou think that thou couldst put out the fire which God hath enkindled in the Universe? Its blaze and flame will be increased. Soon it will encompass the world and its inhabitants. Soon the land of martyrs (Adrianople) will be changed and will pass out of the hands of the King³ and commotion shall appear in the districts and affairs will be in confusion because of what hath happened to those captives' (Baháullah and his companions).

The Turks cared little for the threats of Baháullah. The Shiite element in his doctrine did not appeal to them, and his cosmopolitan teachings found deaf ears among the awakening nationalists. The Government had an eye on him, and when his quarrel with Subh-i-Ezel led to violence, it prevented further blood-shed by separating the rival factions, and Baháullah never attained any political power in Turkey.

His exhortations sound overbearing and egoistic if we dare doubt his infallible prophethood and venture to judge them as those of a normal mortal. He addressed Americans in the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* some fifty years ago in the following words: 'O Rulers of America, Presidents and Governors of the Republic therein, hear the call from the Dawning Place on High. There is no God but me, the speaker and the Omniscient: Bind up the broken limb with the hands of justice, and break the sound limb of the oppressor with the rod of the Command of your Lord, the Ruler, the Wise.'

In the writings of Baháullah we notice a clearness of style which is in striking contrast to the rugged and unintelligible character of Bábi literature. Through him God addresses His creatures, proclaiming His love for them, teaching them His attributes, making His will known, announcing His laws for their guidance and pleading for their love, allegiance and service. In his writings the form of expression frequently changes. Sometimes it is evident that the man himself is speaking, then

³ This prophecy has not yet been fulfilled, for Adrianople is still in the hands of the Turks.

without a break the writing continues as if God Himself were speaking in the first person.

His mission was to bring about unity of all mankind in and through God. He said :

‘Of the Tree of Knowledge the all-glorious fruit is this exalted word : of one tree are all ye the fruits and of one bough the leaves. Let no man glory in this that he loves his country, but let him rather glory in this that he loves his kind.’

It was this ethical and humanitarian spirit, rather than the dry metaphysical doctrines of Baháism which gained new followers all over the world, while those who were allured by the glamour of mysticism still found ample scope in it. In Akka, where Baháullah lived as an exile, people flocked to see him, and by this intercourse with the world his doctrines broadened. He dropped most of the minor restriction imposed by the Báb, which were dictated in many cases by his personal tastes and feelings. Such were the prohibition of smoking and the eating of onions, the regulations as to clothing, forms of salutation, the use of rings, perfumes, the names by which children might be named and so on. The laws of Baháullah, with the exception of the law of inheritance, are much simpler in character and are such as may be enforced in practice. For example, smoking is not now unusual among the followers of Baháullah, while the Ezelis still maintain the prohibition as strictly as ever.*

In the nineties, a Syrian Christian converted to Baháism, Ibráhim George Khair-ullah, settled in the United States, and started active propoganda in America on behalf of the new revelation. He delivered a large number of lectures on Baháism and published a number of books which were favourably received. The monotonous factory life of over-industrialized America harbours a naive sentimentalism which finds pleasure and enthusiasm in all humanitarian ideas, and it was not surprising that Baháism developed a vigorous branch-

*While acting as an interpreter to Abdul Bahá during his tour in Hungary, I remember that I once offered him cigarettes, and he carefully selected one and smoked it with apparent enjoyment.

movement in America, marked by the production of a copious but shallow literature.

Baháullah died in 1892. He nominated as his successor his eldest son Abbas, also called Abdul Bahá, servant of Bahá. Baháullah had conferred on his son, in accordance with the usual practice in his community, the sonorous title 'Ghusn-i-Azam,' the most mighty branch ; the younger son Mirza Muhammad Ali was called 'Ghusn-i-Akbar,' the most great branch. Abdul Bahá's life was accompanied by thrilling romance. He was born at Teheran before midnight on the 23rd May, 1844 (5 Djumádha'tula, 1260) in the very same hour in which the Báb declared his mission.

He was eight years of age when his father was thrown into prison. On one occasion he saw his father moving along the prison yard heavily shackled, his neck bowed under the weight of a heavy steel collar, his body bent by iron chains. This awful sight created a lasting impression on the mind of the boy. At Baghdad, long before the manifestation of God became clear to Baháullah, the son suddenly felt a conviction that it was his father in whom the divine spirit shall shine forth. Sixty years later he dictated to his secretary his impressions of that period in the following words :

"I am the servant of the Blessed Perfection Baháullah. In Baghdad I was a child. Then and there He announced to me the Words and I believed in Him. As soon as He proclaimed to me the word, I threw myself at His holy feet and implored and supplicated Him to accept my blood as a sacrifice in His pathway. What greater glory can I conceive than to see this neck chained for His sake, these feet fettered for His love, this body mutilated or thrown to the depths of the sea for His cause. If in reality we are His sincere lovers, if in reality I am His sincere servant, than I must sacrifice my life, nay all, at his Blessed Threshold."

From this time his friends began to call him : the mystery of God ; a title by which he was known during the residence in Baghdad. Several wonderful stories are related about the innate sagacity with which while yet a boy he solved the most intricate metaphysical problems. A curious story is current about the

circumstances of his marriage. For a long time he showed no inclination for marriage, and no one understood the reason for this. Afterwards it became known that there was a girl who was destined to become his wife, one whose birth came about through the blessing which the Báb had given to her parents in Ispahan. They had no children although the wife was longing for a child. On hearing this the Báb gave the husband an apple and told him to share it with his wife. After they had eaten of that apple, it soon became apparent that their long cherished hopes of parenthood were about to be fulfilled, and in due course a daughter was born to them. This daughter was the elected wife of Abdul Bahá. In the constant odour of sanctity and miracles, Abdul Bahá was brought up as the future leader of the community.

In the face of the clear testament of Baháullah little room was left for dissension, and yet a conflict over the same old principles soon broke out among the followers. The question was again whether Baháism was a final revelation in which the possibility of new innovations ceased with the passing of the Manifestation of God, or whether Abdul Bahá was entitled to further inspirations of his own. In the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* Baháullah himself had explicitly stated that 'whosoever lays claim to any authority to promulgate fresh revelations before the completion of a millenium is assuredly a liar and an imposter'. Abdul Bahá's brothers and some of the leading Baháis therefore strenuously resisted the claim of Abdul Bahá to promulgate new doctrines or fresh ordinances, on the ground that a millenium of occultation must pass before a new exposition of the divine will would be necessary. Thus the Bahái religion split into two hostile parties fighting in Persia as well as in America and other countries of the world. Ibráhim Khair-ullah espoused the cause of the conservative party, and consequently Abdul Bahá was also obliged to send missionaries to America to counteract Khair-ullah's propaganda. The strife between the different Bábi factions, the heads of all of which claim direct divine inspiration, is a disfiguring flaw in the history of the movement, and is an insoluble contradiction in its basic principles. Assuming the Báb to have been divinely inspired (and this

assumption must be made not only by every Bábi but by every Baháí) it is difficult to suppose that he should have chosen for his successor a person who was destined to be the chief opponent of the Báb himself.

The rise of Abdul Bahá to supremacy was decided by forces which were not in the least divine, but most human. The reason for the success of Baháism and its expansion during the life time of Abdul Bahá must be sought in the peculiar appeal of its teachings to certain moods generated by the stress of the industrial civilization of the West. The mind tired by the drab monotony of factory life sought solace in the mystic doctrines of Baháism. It found a peculiar charm in mysterious phrases : "there is a mystic unity between Baháullah and Abdul Bahá. He is myself." Baháullah spoke in the same way of the Báb : 'Had the Primal Point been some one else besides Me, as ye claim, and reached the event of My appearance, verily, he would never have left Me, but rather we would have had mutual delights with each other in My days.'

A summary of Abdul Bahá's creed is given in his Tablets : 'My name is Abdul Bahá (Servant of Bahá), my qualification is Abdul Bahá, my reality is Abdul Bahá, my praise is Abdul Bahá. Thralldom to the Blessed Perfection is my glorious and refulgent diadem and servitude to all the human race is my perpetual religion. Through the bounty and favour of the Blessed Perfection, Abdul Bahá is the Ensign of the Most Sacred Peace, which is waving from the supreme Apex ; and through the gift of the Greatest Name, he is the Lamp of Universal Salvation, which is shining with the love of God. The Herald of Kingdom is he so that he may awaken the people of the East and West. The voice of Friendship, Uprightness, Truth and Reconciliation is he, so as to cause quickening throughout all regions. No name, no title, no mention, no commendation hath he, nor will ever have, except Abdul Bahá, the friends of God must assist and help Abdul Bahá in the adoration of the True One ; in servitude to the human race ; in the well being of the human world and in divine love and kindness.'

'O ye friends of God : Abdul Bahá is the manifestation of Thralldom, and not the Christ. The servant of the human realm

is he, and not a Chief. Non-existent is he, and not Existent. Pure nothingness is he and not the Eternal Lord. No one must believe that Abdul Bahá is the second Christ, nay rather, he must believe that he is the manifestation of servitude, the manifestation of the unity of the human world, the Herald of the true One with spiritual power throughout all regions, the Commentator of the Book according to the divine fact and the Ransom to each one of the believers of God in this transitory world.'

As the teachings of the Baháullah represented a great advance from the metaphysical and ultra-Shiite doctrines of Bábism, the teachings of Abdul Bahá represented a still greater step forward in the ethical and practical development of the movement. He included all the noble aspirations of the age, all the humanitarian and social ideas floating in the air. All nations of the world should become of one faith and all men as brothers; the bonds of affection and unity between sons of men should be strengthened; the conflict between different religions should cease, and differences of race be annulled. This noble aim could be achieved only by a fundamental change of heart among the peoples of the world, and education must be organized for this purpose. According to Abdul Bahá all religions and sciences have a common purpose and a common aim.

In spite of such teachings we find that Baháism was troubled by bitter internecine quarrels from beginning to end. We must conclude that all these humanitarian ideals were still dreams and were far from being realized in practice. The interpretation of history given by Baháis is equally fantastic. They believe that the 20th century begins an unprecedented new era in history, dissimilar in geography, and in technical and economical conditions to all previous eras, and fundamentally suited to the need of Bahái teachings. The technical inventions, and the knowledge of foreign languages especially appear to fill Baháis with an optimistic hope for the cessation of bloody conflicts between men. The synthetic aim of the movement can be appreciated from the definite instructions left by Baháullah for the creation of temples of worship, which he called *Mashrik-ul-adhkár*. 'The dawning place of God's Praise.' The temple should be a nine-sided building surrounded by a dome, and as beautiful as

possible in design and workmanship. It should stand in a large garden, surrounded by a number of accessory buildings devoted to educational, charitable and social purposes so that the worship of God in the temple may always be closely associated with reverent delight in the beauties of nature and practical work. Such temples are being built in Ishkábád, Bombay and Wilmette on lake Michigan near Chicago.

Abdul Bahá lived at Akka, under the strict supervision of the Turkish Government. He was visited from all parts of the world by ardent followers or curious sightseers. After the Turkish revolution he was declared free and in 1911 he undertook tours in Europe and America, delivering lectures, answering questions and expounding the doctrines of his religion of unity. The reception accorded to him must have deeply impressed him, and probably created an impression in his mind that his religion will soon be universal on earth. The universality of his teaching naturally attracted a large number of pacifists, suffragettes, esperantists, theosophists, prohibitionists, socialists and the ultra-liberals, while the mysterious effect, which oriental dress, beauty of personal appearance and the unfamiliar music of oriental language never fail to produce on Western minds, drew others out of pure curiosity. He succeeded in establishing new centres of Baháism in Germany, France and elsewhere, while in America he gained a final ascendancy over the followers of his brother.

In Persia the persecution of Bábis and Baháís has gradually ceased. There are a few Bábis belonging to the old school, who call themselves *Kullu Shayis*, and do not care about the quarrel between Ezelis and Baháís, and a large but indeterminable number of Baháís proper. Lord Curzon in his book on "Persia and the Persian Question," published in 1892, wrote: "the lowest estimates place the number of Bábis in Persia at half of a million. I am disposed to think from conversations with persons well qualified to judge that the total is nearer one million. They are to be found in every walk of life from the ministers and nobles of the Court to the scavenger or the groom, not the least arena of their activity being the Musalman priesthood itself. If Bábism continues to grow at its present rate of progress, a time

may conceivably come when it will oust Mohammadanism from the field in Persia. This, I think, it would be unlikely to do, did it appear upon the ground under the flag of a hostile faith. But since its recruits are won from the best soldiers of the garrison whom it is attacking, there is greater reason to believe that it may ultimately prevail." This prediction however was not fulfilled; the movement after a phenomenal rise again subsided within normal limits.

Abdul Bahá survived the Great War, and saw a good deal of his life-work come to fruition. The Baháís set a good example of material work in transforming the barren Akka (Akhrab-ulbilád) into a little garden. They organized extensive agricultural operations near Tiberias during the war, and secured a great supply of wheat by which a famine was averted. Since the British occupation of Syria, Abdul Bahá became the centre of a large circle listening to his illuminating talks, and hundreds of visitors from the East and West flocked to his house. The British Government was so profoundly impressed by his noble character and his great work in the interest of peace and prosperity of the people that they conferred on him a knighthood of the British Empire. When he departed from the earthly life in 1921 the British High Commissioner officially took part in his funeral.

He died without male issue. His grand-son Shauk-i-Rabbani, a student of Oxford, was proclaimed as his successor, but he was unable to gather round him a group of followers. It is not unlikely that the Baháí movement will ebb out in platitudes of universalism. A typical example of recent writings is furnished by the book on 'the New Humanity' by Mirza Ahmad Sohrab, the Secretary of Abdul Bahá, in which the idea of universality is indiscriminately applied to such concepts as universal peace, universal patriotism, universal language, universal opinion, universal dawn (?), universal age,¹ universal newspaper, universal femininity,² universal painting and

¹ P. 181. "This is the age of women, for 'this very reason if for no other, it is a universal age."

² P. 230. "In her hands is the jar of atar (scent) of the rose of understanding. An artist whispered into my ear; 'I would rather spend one hour with her than seventy years with a saint.'"

literature, universal aviation and broadcasting, universal penance and so on. It is a work not devoid of charm but without the slightest basis of science or a positive back-ground of history.

The after-effects of the Great War in Persia are however not very conducive towards the growth of mysticism. In the West there was a decided reaction against materialism, in the East there was a movement towards positivism, a process which has its psychological as well as social reasons. Bahá'ism is not likely to continue to exercise its old magic influence on the Persian mind, which is now more inclined to be captivated by the forward march of industrialism. Romance will pass away with the growth of factories, and the colour of life will dissolve into the gray haze of outward uniformity. Nothing is more cruel than realities, for even if they give contact with truth, they fail to bring happiness, the illusion of pious hearts.

Water when analysed consists of two elements without taste and flavour, still it quenches the thirst and is the substance of life. Likewise every religion can be analysed into elements of myth, legends and popular lore; still it quenches the thirst of man for guidance and truth and sustains him in his stumbling progress through errors and deficiencies in his slow approach to the harmony pervading the universe.

(Mss. received March, 1930.)

CO-OPERATION IN BENGAL.

By HARIS CHANDRA SINHA.

To Bengal belongs the credit of initiating the co-operative movement long before it had taken actual shape in the rest of India. The names of two Bengalee pioneers come to mind, S^j. Ambika Charan Ukil and Rai Parbati Shankar Chaudhuri. It is true that the societies started by the former were not co-operative in the strict sense of the term, but there is nevertheless to be perceived in them a dim consciousness of co-operative principles. In the case of the grain banks started by the latter, there was also a religious halo somewhat obscuring the principle of "each for all, and all for each." The original idea was to call these grain banks "Lakshmi Golas", *i.e.*, granaries presided over by the Hindu Goddess of Plenty, but in order not to offend against the susceptibilities of non-Hindus, the name "Dharma Gola" (literally, religious granary) was given. The plan put forward at first was to secure contributions of grain after a bumper harvest, more or less as a charity measure, and to store it up for future use, not only by contributors but also by other villagers, who were, however, to be charged a somewhat higher rate of interest than the former. Gradually these methods were replaced by more up-to-date principles. It is pleasant to recall that the first grain bank started by Rai Parbati Shankar Chaudhuri at Joyganj in the district of Dinajpur as early as 1892 continued its useful career as an unregistered society till December, 1914, after which it was registered in the usual way.

The earliest co-operative credit society was started at the village Kushmore (P. O. Labpur in the district of Birbhum) on the 12th July, 1902. From the statement as at 31st March, 1905, it appears that there were 71 members and 37 borrowers. The highest loan was for Rs. 20 and the lowest for Rs. 3, the rate of interest charged being 9% per annum. The earliest available balance sheet of the society is reproduced below, exactly as it appears in the first annual report of the Co-operative Department of Bengal, curiously enough with assets on the left hand side and liabilities on the right.

Balance Sheet of Kushmore Co-operative Society as at March 31st, 1905.

ASSETS.				LIABILITIES.			
		Rs.	As. P.			Rs.	As. P.
1. Loans outstanding	...	345	0 0	1. Loans due to Govt.	...	400	0 0
2. Interest on ditto.	...	17	8 10½	2. Interest on ditto.	...	25	0 0
3. Deposit in Post Office				3. Deposits	...	9	4 0
Savings Bank	...	19	0 9				
4. Interests on ditto.	...	0	7 9	4. Interest on ditto	...	0	12 9
5. Balance in hand	...	110	15 10½	5. Reserve fund (en- trance fees)	...	18	0 0
				6. Balance being "worth"		40	0 6
		Rs.	493 1 3			Rs.	493 1 3

The strangely worded last item on the "liabilities" side is really "profits," which should have been credited to the Reserve Fund.

From such humble beginnings the movement has made rapid progress during the last twenty-five years. How the progress in Bengal compares with that in the rest of India will appear from Table I.

Table I.—Statistics of Co-operative Societies for 1927-1928.

Particulars	Bengal	British India
Number of societies per 100,000 inhabitants	38.7	33.5
Number of members of primary societies per 1,000 inhabitants	12.9	13.3
Working capital in annas per head of population	38	46

It is thus clear that in Bengal quality has been sacrificed to quantity, for although more numerous, the societies here have fewer members and less funds than in the rest of British India.

Table II gives additional details of the comparative position at the end of 1927-28.

Table II—Comparative Statistics of Co-operative Societies at the end of 1927-1928.

Territory	Kind of Co-operative Societies	Number of Societies	Number of members	Loan from private persons, other societies and banks.	Share Capital	Deposits by members	State aid	Reserve	Loans issued to members, other societies and banks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
				Rs. (1,000)	Rs. (1,000)	Rs. (1,000)	Rs. (1,000)	Rs. (1,000)	Rs. (1,000)
	Central	114	20,184	4,09,91	53,37	...	...	22,41	2,77,64
	Agricultural	16,426	441,208	2,95,44	39,35	15,77	46	57,24	1,83,04
	Non-Agricultural	1,520	160,631	94,96	50,21	50,04	14	12,47	1,80,14
	Central	1,907	234,007	27,69,74	2,90,74	...	16,73	1,48,78	19,23,03
	Agricultural	72,640	2,487,178	18,86,59	2,96,45	1,49,74	24,19	3,99,21	12,25,43
	Non-Agricultural	7,689	783,169	3,44,85	2,78,01	3,22,12	53,69	64,21	8,27,18

From column (3) it appears that in Bengal a Central Bank controls 157 Primary Societies (both agricultural and non-agricultural) on an average, the corresponding figure for British India being only 42. The proportion of agricultural to non-agricultural societies is the same in Bengal as elsewhere, *viz.*, about 10:1, showing that the underlying economic conditions are not dissimilar. On reference to column (8) it will be seen that Bengal is less dependent on state aid than the rest of India.

The effect of this inadequate control by Central Bank is clearly revealed in the inefficiency in the working of Agricultural Credit Societies. The Audit classification of such Societies (excluding grain societies) is given for the last five years in Table III.

Table III.—Classification of Agricultural Societies in Bengal.

Year	A	B	C	D	E	Not classified	Total
1924-25	110	630	5,401	656	487	2,527	9,811
25-26	132	797	6,531	726	492	2,458	11,136
26-27	150	787	7,384	863	575	3,607	13,366
27-28	152	850	8,453	1,108	687	4,402	15,657
28-29	166	855	10,177	1,427	807	3,457	16,889

The "C" class societies, which are usually spoken of as average societies, are really worse than average, being defined* as societies "in which the general condition is promising but members are in arrears and the general working is not satisfactory and in which more supervision is necessary." However that may be, the above table clearly shows that C, D and E Societies are increasing at a much faster rate than A and B Societies. This is a most disquieting feature. In his latest

*This is the official definition adopted by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies.

annual report, the Registrar has rightly sounded the following note of warning :—

“The real work of a Central Bank should . . . be judged not by the amount of deposits it is able to attract from capitalist depositors, nor by the imposing building it puts up, but by the efficiency of the working of village societies under it and the growth of a real co-operative spirit among the members of village societies resulting in their economic improvement.”

Besides these Agricultural Credit Societies all with unlimited liability, there were at the end of 1928-29, other types of Agricultural Societies as listed below :—

(a) 41 Grain Banks, 8 with limited liability and 33 with unlimited liability.

(b) 100 Purchase and Sale Societies, all with limited liability, most of the funds being employed for the marketing of jute.

(c) 773 Irrigation Societies all with limited liability;

(d) 172 Production and Sale Societies, mostly with limited liability, practically all of them being organised for the sale of milk; and

(e) 34 other Societies, such as Agricultural Associations.

The Grain Societies are to be found mostly in the district of Bankura, where this form of societies continues to flourish. The Purchase and Sale Societies have probably the worst records of any single class of societies in Bengal, the relevant statistics for the past three years are reproduced below in Table IV.

Table IV.—Purchase and Sale Societies.

Year	No. of Societies	Paid-up Capital	Reserve Fund	Loss for the year
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1926-27	78	3,22,920	28,897	54,918
1927-28	85	4,09,071	50,718	4,20,093
1928-29	100	5,68,641	58,802	1,84,579

Thus during the last three years, there has been a total loss of Rs. 6,59,590, which exceeds the paid-up capital and reserve fund. The situation is alarming, but the Registrar has rested content merely with the following remark in his latest annual report :—

“The movement for the marketing of agricultural produce has not yet emerged from the stage of experiment and the department is following a policy of caution.”

Unfortunately, however, even this timid policy has not prevented the frittering away of the entire resources of the societies during the past three years, seriously crippling the entire movement.

The only agricultural sale society which has achieved great success in Bengal is the Naogaon Ganja Cultivators' Co-operative Societies. But as has been rightly observed in the annual report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bengal, for 1928-29, “the working of the society furnishes no model to the working of other sale and supply societies which are not based on a monopoly of supply.”

The Irrigation Societies form a special feature of agricultural co-operation in Bengal. They are mostly confined to the dry districts of Bankura and Birbhum and the portion of Burdwan lying to the west of 88° longitude, which marks the boundary for deficient rainfall in Bengal. The total number rose from 525 to 775 during 1928-29 and the working capital from Rs. 3,13,455 to Rs. 3,83,063 but there was a loss of Rs. 12,048, which was slightly less than the previous year's loss.

The latest development in Production and Sale Societies, which are mostly Milk Societies, as stated above, is the setting up by the Darjeeling Milk Union of a fairly well equipped modern factory, probably the only factory in India working on the gravitation system.

The Non-agricultural Societies of Bengal may be classified in the following way :—

(a) 410 Credit Societies, 381 with unlimited liability and 29 with limited liability ;

(b) 69 Stores and Supply Societies, all with limited liability ;

(c) 528 Artisans' Societies, of which 290 are Weavers' Societies; and

(d) 726 Miscellaneous Societies, of which 662 are Anti-Malarial and Public Health Societies, which form a special feature of the co-operative movement in this presidency.

Thus it is clear that co-operation has proceeded in diverse directions in Bengal. But there is one direction in which co-operation has not made any appreciable progress, although it is precisely in that direction that co-operation can be most fruitful. At present, different departments of the Bengal Government are charged with different aspects of Bengal's social and economic life such as Education, Sanitation, Agriculture, Industries, etc. Under this system of watertight division of functions, there is a total absence of co-ordination of effort and unnecessary duplication in the agencies for inspection, audit and propaganda. If the problem of rural Bengal is to be effectively tackled, the present inefficiency and waste must be avoided. For instance, instead of starting ill-equipped schools with low-salaried teachers at numerous centres, the school must be assigned its rightful place in the village economy. It should be started at a convenient market place, easy of access from neighbouring villages, the villagers themselves arranging for boats or carts, which will bring their boys to the school along with their crops to the market place. The teachers must not only impart the ordinary instruction of primary and secondary schools but must also be prepared to work for the villagers in other ways. For instance, one teacher must be an expert agriculturist, who will have to popularise the results of the researches of the Agricultural Department. He will have to analyse the soils of adjacent villages and procure the necessary manure. He will be required to get the seeds for the crop, which he considers most suitable for the area. All this and more he can do, if he tries to enlist the confidence of the guardians of his boys and shows good results in the experimental farm attached to the school. Similarly another teacher will be in charge of the Co-operative Credit Society for financing both short-term and long-term agricultural needs of the region. A

third teacher may be in charge of the Co-operative Sale and Supply Society, through which the produce of the neighbouring villages will be marketed in an organized manner, eliminating unnecessary middle-men and securing better prices for the cultivators. Another teacher will manage the Co-operative Store. Other teachers will be called upon to provide medical relief and veterinary assistance to the neighbouring villages. There will be two positive gains from this scheme of centralisation. One is that villagers will look upon the school as an integral part of village life and will be prepared to remunerate the teachers for their services. The other is that for the students the present incongruity between the school life and the home life will be done away with. Education will no longer be looked upon as a costly luxury, and fewer students will lapse back to illiteracy in the same way as now. If the site of the school is properly chosen, there is no reason why the cost should be prohibitive. A beginning has already been made by Sir Daniel Hamilton in his zemindary at Gosaba, and the success so far achieved there shows the power of co-operation on organized lines. The last annual report of the Registrar mentions a similar scheme of colonisation by landless agriculturists in the district of Chittagong. If attempts are made from the very beginning to organise the entire life of the colony on co-operative lines, the experiment will, it is hoped, prove such a success that it will be able to furnish an object lesson for the rest of Bengal.

(Mss. received August, 1930).

MAHĀYĀNAVIMŚAKA OF NĀGĀRJUNA

Restored in Sanskrit from the Tibetan and Chinese Versions
and Translated into English.

By

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

The Tibetan and the Chinese translations of the present treatise with an English translation made by him was published in a paper in 1927 by Mr. Susumu Yamaguchi in *The Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. IV, No. 1-2, pp. 56-72, 167-176. Having gone through the edition it occurred to me that further studies in it were required and I made an attempt to reconstruct the lost Sanskrit text from the Tibetan and the Chinese versions collating them as far as was possible for me. And the result is now placed before the public.

There are two Tibetan versions, T¹ and T², and Mr. Yamaguchi used the "Red" or the Peking edition (=P) of them. I have compared it as printed in the paper with the "Black" or the Narthang edition (=N) in our library. He does not give any particulars regarding the edition of the Chinese version (=C) he has used. I have compared it with the Shanghai edition and found only one variation in the end of the third line of the kārīkā, No. 5 as noted in the Notes.

For the sake of convenience of comparison I have followed the number of the order of the kārīkāś as given by Mr. Yamaguchi, but the right order, in my humble opinion, is indicated by numbers above the kārīkāś.

The kārīkāś, only four in number, which, I think, are added afterwards, are printed in smaller types.

For easy reference both the Tibetan texts and a facsimile of the Chinese version of the Shanghai (1909-1913) edition are given here.

In the Comparative Notes I have translated into Sanskrit each line of every káriká in its three versions, two Tibetan and one Chinese, where all of them are found. I have also tried to find out their mutual agreement and disagreement, though in some cases very slight, and to show from which line or lines of them each line of a káriká is reconstructed. An attempt has also been made to explain the difficult words or passages in the text.

As regards the Chinese portion of the work I am much indebted to my dear friend Prof. Dr. G. Tucci for the indispensable help he has given me.

There has been added an English translation.

INTRODUCTION.

§1. THE MAHAYANAVIMSAKA.

The small treatise of which the original Sanskrit is lost and a Reconstruction from the Tibetan and Chinese versions is now presented here for the first time is called *Mahāyānavimśaka*, as evident from the Tibetan and Chinese sources. In Tibetan the very name is transliterated together with its translation, *Theg. pa. chen. po. ni. ñi. su*. In Chinese version it is named *Ta shang erh shi sung lung* literally meaning *Mahāyānagāthā-* (or *kārikā-*)*vimśaka-sāstra*.

There are other two works of the same or similar name, *Mahāyānavimśati* (Tib. *Theg. pa. chen. po. ni. su*) and *Tattvamahāyānavimśati* (Tib. *De. kho. na. ñid. theg. pa. chen. po. ni. su*).¹ But as an examination of the contents of them shows these two books are quite different from our *Mahāyānavimśaka*. They are edited² in the original Sanskrit by Pandit Haraprasad Shastri under somewhat different names, *Mahāyānavimśikā* and *Tattvavimśikā* respectively, in a volume called *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, GOS, 1927, pp. 54, 52. They are attributed to Advayavajra.

§2. THE AUTHOR.

The authorship of the work is assigned to Nāgārjuna in the colophons of the Tibetan and Chinese translations. While T² has prefixed to his name the epithet *ācārya* (slob. *dpon*), and T¹ *ācārya ārya* (slob. *dpon. ḥphags*), C has *Mahā-* (*ta*). Now in Buddhist literature there are more than one Nāgārjuna ; one Nāgārjuna who systematized the Mādhyamika philosophy is well-known ; there is another Nāgārjuna who is said to have been one of the eighty four *Siddhas* and to whom the authorship of most of the books found against his name in the *Rgyud.ḥgrel* or *Tantravṛtti* section of Cordier's Catalogue of Tanjur, Vol. III, may rightly be attributed. The second Nāgārjuna is also called *ārya*, *ācārya-ārya*, and besides them *mahācārya*, *mahācārya-ārya*, *bhikṣu*, and *bhaṭṭāraka*. Which of these two Nāgārjunas is the real author of the *Mahāyānavimśaka* is a natural question, but it should now remain unsettled owing to want of sufficient materials. It may, however, be observed that there is no evidence to show that it is the first Nāgārjuna to whom we may assign the authorship of the

¹ Cordier, Vol. II, p. 217.

² This edition is not critical and full of mistakes, and as such should be used very carefully.

work. It may be noted here that the date of the first Nāgārjuna is *circa* 200 A.D., while the second Nāgārjuna is believed to have flourished in about the first half of the seventh century A.D.

§3. TRANSLATIONS

Tibetan and Chinese.

There are two Tibetan translations of the *Mahāyānaviṃśaka*, and both are preserved in the Tanjur, Mdo ; one in Gi (fols. 211^b.8—213^a.2) and the other in Tsa (fols. 156^a.4—157^a.5) (Cordier, Vol. III, pp. 357, 293). For the sake of reference we mark them by T¹ and T² respectively. There is nothing to show that these two translators knew of each other's translation.

T¹ was made by one Paṇḍita Ānanda (Jayānanda) of Kashmir and the Tibetan Translator Bhikṣu Kirttibhutiprajña (*Dge. loṇ. grags. ḥbyor. śes. rab*) and T² by an Indian Paṇḍita Candrakumāra and Bhikṣu Śākyaprabha (*Dge. loṇ. śā. kya. ḥod*). Śākyaprabha is also the translator of the *Tattva-mahāyānaviṃśatī* already referred to. He was contemporary of Gopāla,¹ the founder of the Pal dynasty in Bengal (800 A.D.).

There is a Chinese translation made by Dānapāla (*Shī-hu*) in 980—1000 A.D. in the later Sung dynasty, 960—1127 (B. Nanjio, No. 1308).

§4. THE DATE OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

No definite date can be assigned to our work until more materials are forthcoming. That the work was existent in 1000 A. D. is quite clear from the Chinese translation as shown above. Its existence in 800 A. D. is proved by the fact that it was translated into Tibetan by Śākyaprabha, contemporary of Gopāla. The very name Nāgārjuna itself as its author, as found from both the sources, Tibetan and Chinese, clearly shows that it cannot be later than the last part of the seventh century A. D. It is further supported by the following fact. Indrabhūti who is believed to have flourished in 700 A. D. or just a few years after has the following śloka in his *Jñānasiddhi*¹, XI. 8 :

kalpanājalapūrṇasya saṃsārasya mahodadheḥ |
vajrayānam anāruhya² ko vā pāram gamiṣyati ||

¹ Poussin : *Pañcakrama*, 1896, p. ix.

² *Two Vajrayāna Works*, ed. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, GOS, Baroda, 1929, p. 68.

³ The actual reading in the text is *saṃāruhya* which is evidently wrong. The Tib. version reads *anāruḍhaḥ* (*ma. ḥon. par*).

This is in fact the *kārikā*, No. 22, of our *Mahāyānavimśaka* with the single variation that while the former which deals with the *Vajrayāna* uses the word *vajra*-, the latter treating of the truth of *Mahāyāna* has there rightly *mahā*-. That this identity is not accidental but is a deliberate quotation by *Indrabhūti* from the *Mahāyānavimśaka* may be clear if one considers the fact that *Indrabhūti* expressly quotes from different works and writes at least a portion of his book with the materials taken from others.¹ In reality it is partly a compilation just like the *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, ed. Bendall. It can therefore be said that it is *Indrabhūti* who has borrowed the *kārikā* from the *Mahāyānavimśaka*.

§5. ITS AUTHENTICITY.

That the present work is an authentic one can be known from the quotation referred to above. Moreover, the following *kārikā* (No. 10) is quoted from it as an *āgama*² in the Sanskrit commentary on the *Āścaryacaryācaya*³ edited by *Pandit Haraprasad Sastri*, p. 6, in his *Buddha Gana o Doha* :⁴

yathā citrakaro rūpaṃ yakṣasyāstibhaṃkaram |
samālikhya svayaṃ bhūtaḥ saṃsāre'py abudhas tathā ||

But the term *āgama* as used in the commentary alluded to may not necessarily imply so much authenticity as the old canonical works have. For, while the word is once used (p. 56) with regard to a quotation⁵ from the *Samādhirvāja-sūtra* (BTS, p. 28), or to that⁶ from the *Gaṇḍavyūha*,⁷ it is employed with reference to an *Apabhramśa* passage⁸ or to a stanza⁹ in the *Mahāyānavimśati* (or *Mahāyānavimśikā*)¹⁰ of *Advaya-vajra*, the time of which is believed to be about 978-1030 A. D.

¹ Op. Cit. p. 75 : sarvatantra sthitaṃ tattvaṃ, tebhyaḥ (?) kiñcin nigadyate; *Tattvasamgraha-tantrādaḥ* sthitaṃ; p. 69 : yuktir apy ucyate 'dhunā Yogatantrōkta dṛṣṭāntaiḥ ; p. 65 : uktam ca—*Kalpāntād*. See also the whole of Chapter XV.

² Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 75 : "sākṣād atindriyārthavidāṃ āptānaṃ yad vacanaṃ sa āgamaḥ." 'The speech of those authoritative persons who directly perceive things beyond the cognizance of the senses is called *āgama*.'

³ Not *Caryācaryaviniscaya* as writes the editor. See IHQ, Vol. V., No. 4; *Pravāsi* (a Bengali Monthly), 1936 B.S., Kārttika, p. 141.

⁴ *Vaṅṡya Sāhitya-Parīṣat-Granthāvalī*, No. 55, Cal. 1928 B.S.

⁵ "Yathā kumāro" : Here are many wrong readings; for better ones see *Madhyamakavṛtti* by Candrakīrti, p. 178.

⁶ P. 58 : "dhūmena jāyate vahnirō."

⁷ See *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, p. 13.

⁸ P. 70 : "jima jalaḥ."

⁹ P. 77 : "na kleśā bodhito bhinnāḥ."

¹⁰ *Advaya-vajrasamgraha*, GOS, p. 56.

§6. THE KARİKĀS OF THE WORK.

As regards the number of the kārīkās in the present treatise there is much discrepancy among the different versions ; T¹ has twenty kārīkās, T² twenty-three, and C twenty-four. The word *vimśaka* itself in the title of the work, *Mahāyāyanavimśaka*, clearly shows that it is composed of twenty kārīkās. But this fact alone cannot safely lead us to the final conclusion regarding the actual number of the kārīkās in the work. For, it is often seen that books which bear titles indicating the number of stanzas in them do not necessarily contain the same number of them. For instance, the *Vimśikā* of Vasubandhu (ed. Lévi) has *twenty-two* kārīkās with the commentary instead of *twenty* as signified by the name. In the present case, where there are different versions of the same work and each of them gives a different number of kārīkās, this difference cannot be ignored, and attempt should be made to explain it as far as possible.

In dealing with such questions preference is sometimes given to the shortest text ; but this is not always safe, for somehow or other a portion of the original may have been left out. Nor is it always safe to discard the longest text simply on account of the fact that it is the longest. One should therefore proceed to discuss the matter very cautiously depending more on the internal evidences, if any, than on the external.

If a kārīkā is found in all the versions, even with variants, we may safely take it as a genuine one. But if it is not so, there is room for doubt of its genuineness.

Now, we see that out of the twenty-three kārīkās in T² nineteen are to be found in all the three versions, and the numbers are 1-7, 10-17, and 19-22. And as such they can be regarded as genuine. The doubt is, however, in regard to the remaining four, *viz.*, Nos. 8, 9, 18 and 23. They are entirely wanting in T¹, and are found only in T² and C.

In the longest text, C, the number of the kārīkās is, as said before, twenty-four. Here the additional number is due to the fact that where T² has one kārīkā, C and T¹ have two (see No. 21).

As the consequence of *kalpanā* is well described in Nos. 11 and 12, which are found in each of the versions, it appears that No. 8 which is only in T² and C is not necessary. Similarly when the nature of *sattvas* is already shown in No. 2 in all the texts, and *pratītyasamutpāda* already mentioned in No. 3 and in No. 15 is spoken of again, it seems that No. 9 which occurs only in T² and C is not required. One may, therefore, think

that these two kārīkās, Nos. 8 and 9, were added afterwards. It should, however, be noted that the reason advanced here is not conclusive.

As regards No. 18 it may be observed that when *samskṛta* is already described as *sūnya* in No. 3, to say of it again in No. 18, though with some addition, after what has been said in Nos. 16 and 17, seems to be quite unnecessary. Nor can it be put just before the concluding kārīkā, No. 22 (=T¹20, T²22, C 24), in accordance with the Chinese version.

No. 22 (=T¹20, T²22, C 24) is to be found in all the versions. Its subject matter and the number of order in T¹ and C (*viz.*, 20 and 24 respectively) taken together with what is said in the preceding kārīkā, No. 21, clearly point out that it is the concluding kārīkā of the treatise. Therefore No. 23 cannot be placed at the end as it is done in T². This is perfectly clear also from the number of order (22) in C. No. 20 is C 21 ; after it let one read No. 23 and it will be apparent that even here it cannot rightly be placed.

Thus one may think that the above four kārīkās, Nos. 8, 9, 18 and 23, did not originally form a part of our *Mahāyānavimśaka*.

The four kārīkās mentioned above being excluded we have twenty kārīkās in all in T¹. According to it the kārīkā No. 18^a which in fact is 17 in T¹ is to be put before No. 19 in the place of No. 18. C, too, has thus twenty kārīkās. But in T² there are only nineteen and it is due to the fact that No. 18^a or T¹17 corresponding partly to Nos. 18 and 19 of C is here completely omitted.

§7. THE ORDER OF THE KARIKAS.

The following table shows the actual order of the kārīkās as arranged in the Tibetan and Chinese versions :

T ²	T ¹	C
1—5	1—5	1—5
6	6	7
7	7	6
8	0	8
9	0	9
10	8	10
11	9	11
12	10	12
13	11	13
14	12	14

15	13	15
16	14	16
17	15	17
18	0	23
19	18	20
20	19	21
*	*	*
22	20	24
23	0	22

§8. INTER-RELATION OF THE VERSIONS.

The comparative notes will show that in most cases T¹ has agreement more with C than with T². Only in four kārīkās, Nos. 4, 14, 15, 22, T¹ agrees more with T² than with C.

§9. THE SUBJECT AND ITS TREATMENT.

After expressing his obeisance to the Buddha the author tells us some of the general conceptions of the Mādhyamikas which can be regarded as common to Yogācāra system. Next, he advises one to realise Buddhahood, so that one may help the people suffering from the false notions of things. Then he says that through the knowledge of *pratītyasamutpāda* one can see the transcendental truth (*bhūtārtha*) and by it can understand that the world is *śūnya*. To the wise, he continues, there is no *saṃsāra*, just as the object of dream has no existence to one in the waking state. Next he teaches us that there is nothing but mind (*cittamātra*) and such notions as the bad and evil *karman*, their consequences, etc., are only owing to that mind, and when the mind is completely suppressed there is none of them. The things have no independent existence, yet one imagines them variously and then falls into the ocean of *saṃsāra*, and cannot come out of it without resort to the *Mahāyāna*.

These are mere statements without any arguments or discussion, and thus the subject is not treated here thoroughly.

The only thing that may be specially noted here is the advocacy by the author of the idealistic views in the treatise. Mr. Yamaguchi has noticed this in his *Prefatory Notes* (*The Eastern Buddhist*, 1926, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 57-58) and found out even from *Nāgārjuna's* own work, *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, 34, 36, that the main idealistic thought is adopted there by

*For T² 21, T¹ 16-17, and C 18-19 see note on No. 21.

the author himself. Idealistic views are expounded in various canonical works and the Mādhyamikas explain the fact saying that they are meant only to lead the disciples who are not keenly intelligent to the highest truth. See *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 276. Nāgārjuna himself says :

cittamatram jagat sarvam iti yā deśanā muneḥ |
uttrāsaparihārtham bālānām sā na tattvataḥ ||¹

Subhāṣitasamgraha, p. 20.

One may, therefore, say that the *Mahāyānavimśaka* represents the views of both the Vijñāna- and Sūnya-vādas, and as such it does not belong to a particular school of the Mahāyāna. It is simply a book of the Mahāyāna, as shows its title.

§10. THE SUMMARY OF THE TEXT.

Having indicated in the first kārīkā in which he has paid his homage to the Buddha that the truth he is going to propound can hardly be expressed by words the author says that in the transcendental truth (*paramārtha*) there is neither *utpāda* 'appearance' nor *nirodha* 'disappearance.' The Buddha and the beings are of the same nature and they are just like the sky which has no real existence. There is no origination (*jāti*) on either side of the world. A compound thing (*saṃskṛta*) comes into existence through its cause and conditions, and therefore in its essence it is nothing but *sūnya*. This is what comes into the range of an omniscient one. In regard to their own nature all things are just like a shadow. Worldlings imagine an *ātman* when in fact there is no *ātman*. They also imagine pain and pleasure, and such other things, but in reality they are non-existent. It is on account of this false imagination that people suffer from *kleśas* 'evil passions,' as a forest is burnt by fire. As a painter is frightened having seen a picture of a Yakṣa drawn by himself, so it is owing to his false notions that a man is frightened in the *saṃsāra*. As a stupid person moving himself is drowned in mud, so are drowned the beings in the mire of false discrimination and cannot come out of it. Seeing that these men are helpless one should try to become

asti khalv iti nīlādī jagad iti jadyase |
bhāvagrāhagrahāveśa-(veśād) gambhīranayabhīrave ||
vijñānamātram evedam citram jagad udāhṛtam |
grāhyagrāhakabhedena rahitam mandamedhuse ||
gandharvanagarākāram satyadvitayalāñchitam |
ameyānantakalpaughabhāvanāśuddhabuddhaye |

Subhāṣitasamgraha, pp. 14-15

a Buddha, so that one can help them. The world is *śūnya* to him who realizes the transcendental truth having known *pratītyasamutpāda*. The *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are mere appearance ; in fact, they have no existence ; the truth is that the things are quiescent from the very beginning (*ādiśānta*), clean, changeless and pure. All this is nothing but mind (*citta*), and just like *māyā*. When the wheel of this mind (*citta-cakra*) is destroyed all things disappear ; therefore they are *anātman* (i.e., without any definite nature). The things have no nature whatsoever, yet, the people take them to be eternal, think them to be *ātman*, and consider that happiness may be derived from them. And thus they are covered with the darkness of ignorance and attachment and fall into the ocean of *samsāra*. And without the 'great conveyance' (*Mahāyāna*) no body can reach the other side of that ocean.

ABBREVIATIONS.

The letters *a*, *b*, *c* and *d* imply the four lines of a stanza respectively.

C stands for Chinese version (B. Nanjio, No. 1308).

T¹ stands for Tibetan version, Tanjur, Mdo, Gi, fols, 211b.8—213a.2 (Cordier, Vol. III, 357).

T² stands for Tibetan version, Tanjur, Mdo, Tsa, fols, 156a.4—157a.5 (Cordier, Vol. III, p. 293).

N.B.—In the Tibetan in Roman transcription, *ṇ* has been used for the guttural nasal (= *ng* as in English *sing*). This letter, *ṇ*, is used for the Sanskrit and other Indian cerebral *n*, but as the press did not have the proper letter for the guttural nasal we have used *ṇ* as a makeshift. In Sanskrit words, simple *n* before gutturals stands for the guttural nasal.

RESTORED SANSKRIT TEXT.

MAHĀYĀNAVIMŚAKAM

Namas Triratnāya.

1

namo vācā'vācyam api dayayā yen deśitam 1
dhimate vītarāgāya buddhāyācintyaśaktaye 11 1 11

2

paramārthena notpādo nirodho'pi na tattvataḥ 1
buddha ākāśavat tadvat sattvā apy ekalakṣaṇāḥ 11 2 11

3

jātir nāsti tata itaḥ saṃskṛtaṃ pratyayodbhavam 1
śūnyam eva svarūpeṇa sarvajñajñānagocaraḥ 11 3 11

4

sarve bhāvāḥ svabhāvena pratibimbasaṃ matāḥ 1
śuddhāḥ śāntasvabhāvāś ca advayās tathatā saṃāḥ 11 4 11

5

tattvenānātmani pṛthag-janenātmā vikalpitaḥ 1
sukhaṃ duḥkham upekṣā ca kleśo mokṣas tathaiva ca 11 5 11

6

gatayaḥ saḍ hi saṃsāre sugatau sukham uttamam 1
narake ca mahad duḥkham sarvaṃ na tattvagocaraḥ 11 6 11

7

aśubhād duḥkham atyantam jarā vyādhis tathā mṛtiḥ 1
karmabhis tu śubhair eva śubham eva hi niścitam 11 7 11

mithyākalpanayā sattvā dāvāgnineva kānanam 1
kleśānalena dahyante narakūḍau patanti ca 11 8 11
yathā yathā bhaven māyā sattvāḥ syur gocarās tathā 1
jagan māyāsvarūpaṃ hi pratīyasambhavaṃ tathā 11 9 11

8

* yathā citrakaro rūpaṃ yakṣasyātibhayankaram 1
saṃālikhya svayaṃ bhītaḥ saṃsāre'py abudhas tathā 11 10 11

9

svayaṃ calan yathā paṇke bālaḥ kaścin nimajjati 1
nimagnāḥ kalpanāpaṇke sattvās tathodgamākṣamāḥ 11 11 11

10

bhāvarāśanato'bhāve vedyate duḥkhavedanā 1
 tayor jñānaviśayayor bādhyante kalpanāviśaiḥ 11 12 11

11

ālokyā tām āśaraṇān karuṇāvaśamānasaḥ 1
 sattvānām upakārāya bodhicaryām samācāret 11 13 11

12

tayā sañcītya sambhārān prāpto bodhim anuttarām 1
 kalpanābandhanān muktaḥ syād buddho lokabāndhavaḥ 11 14 11

13

yaḥ pratītyasamutpādād bhūtārtham avalokate 1
 sa jānāti jagac chūnyam ādimadhyāntavarjitam 11 15 11

14

darśanenaiva saṁsāro nirvāṇam ca na tattvataḥ 1
 nirañjanam nirvikāram ādiśāntam prabhāsvaram 11 16 11

15

viśayaḥ svapnabodhasya prabuddhena na dṛśyate 1
 mohāndhakārodbuddhena saṁsāro naiva dṛśyate 11 17 11
 māyaiva dṛśyate māyānirmitam saṁskṛtam yadā 1
 naiva kiñcit tadā bhāvo dharmāṇām saiva dharmatā 11 18 11

16

jātimān na svayam jāto jātir lokair vikalpitā 1
 vikalpās caiva sattvās ca dvayam etan na yujyate 11 18^a 11

17

cittamātram idam sarvaṁ māyāvad avatiṣṭhate 1
 tataḥ śubhāśubham karma tato jātiḥ śubhāśubhā 11 19 11

18

sarve dharmā nirudhyante cittacakraṇirodhataḥ 1
 anātmānas tato dharmā viśuddhās tata eva te 11 20 11

19

bhāveṣu niḥsvabhāveṣu nityātmasukhasamjñayā 1
 rāgamohatamaśchannasyodbhūto'yaṁ bhavāmbudhiḥ 11 21 11

20

* kalpanājalapūrṇasya saṁsārasya mahodadheḥ 1
 mahāyānam anārūḍhaḥ ko vā pārām gamiṣyati 11 22 11

avidyāpratrayotpannasyāśya lokasya saṁvidāḥ 1

kutaḥ khalu bhaved eṣāṁ vitarkānām samudbhavaḥ 11 23 11

11 Ācāryārya-Nāgārjuna-kṛtam Mahāyānavimśakam sampūrṇam 11

TRANSLATION.

ADORATION TO THE THREE TREASURES.

1

I make my obeisance to the Buddha who is wise, free from all attachment, and whose powers are beyond conception, and who has kindly taught the truth which cannot be expressed by words. 1.

2

In the transcendental truth there is no origination (*utpāda*), and in fact, there is no destruction (*nirodha*). The Buddha is like the sky (which has neither origination nor cessation), and the beings are like him, and therefore they¹ are of the same nature. 2.

3

There is no birth either on this or the other side (of the world). A compound thing (*samskṛta*) originates from its conditions. Therefore it is *śūnya* by its nature. This fact comes into the range of knowledge of an omniscient one. 3.

4

All things by nature are regarded as reflections. They are pure and naturally quiescent, devoid of any duality, equal, and remain always and in all circumstances in the same way (*tathatā*). 4.

5

In fact, worldings attribute *ātman* to what is not *ātman*, and in the same way they imagine happiness, misery, indifference, passions and liberation. 5.

6—7

Birth in the six realms of existence in the world, highest happiness in the heaven, great pain in the hell,—these do not come within the per-view of truth (*i.e.* cannot be accepted as true) ; nor do the notions that unmeritorious actions lead to the extreme misery, old age, disease, and death, and meritorious actions surely bring about good results. 6-7.

It is owing to false notions that beings are consumed by fire of passions even as a forest is burnt by forest conflagration and fall into the hells, etc. 8.

As illusion prevails so do beings make their appearance. The world is illusory and it exists only on account of its cause and conditions. 9.

¹ The Buddha and the beings.

8

As a painter is frightened by the terrible figure of a Yakṣa which he himself has drawn, so is a fool frightened in the world (by his own false notions). 10.

9

Even as a fool going himself to a quagmire is drowned therein, so are beings drowned in the quagmire of false notions and are unable to come out thereof. 11.

10

The feeling of misery is experienced by imagining a thing where in fact it has no existence. Beings are tortured by the poison of false notions regarding the object and its knowledge. 12.

11

Seeing these helpless beings with a compassionate heart one should perform the practices of the highest knowledge (*bodhicaryā*) for the benefit of them. 13.

12

Having acquired requisites thereby and getting unsurpassable *bodhi* one should become a Buddha, the friend of the world, being freed from the bondage of false notions. 14.

13

He who realizes the transcendental truth knowing the *pralītyasamutpāda* (or the manifestation of entities depending on their causes and conditions), knows the world to be *sūnya* and devoid of beginning, middle or end. 15.

14

The *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are mere appearances ; the truth is stainless, changeless, and quiescent from the beginning and illumined. 16.

15

The object of knowledge in dream is not seen when one awakes. Similarly the world disappears to him who is awakened from the darkness of ignorance. 17.

The creation of illusion is nothing but illusion. When everything is compound there is nothing which can be regarded as a real thing. Such is the nature of all things. 18.

16

One having origination (*jāti*) does not originate himself. Origination is a false conception of the people. Such conceptions and (conceived) beings, these two are not reasonable. 18a.

17

All this is nothing but mind (*citta*) and exists just like an illusion. Hence originate good and evil actions and from them good and evil birth. 19.

18

When the wheel of the mind is suppressed, all things are suppressed. Therefore all things are devoid of *ātman* (independent nature), and consequently they are pure. 20.

19

It is due to thinking the things which have no independent nature as eternal, *ātman*, and pleasant that this ocean of existence (*bhava*) appears to one who is enveloped by the darkness of attachment and ignorance. 21.

20

Who can reach the other side of the great ocean of *saṃsāra* which is full of water of false notions without getting into the great vehicle (*i.e.*, *Mahāyāna*)? 22.

How can these false notions arise in a man who thoroughly knows this world which has originated from ignorance? 23.

Here ends the *Mahāyānavimśaka* of Ācārya Nāgarjuna.

CHINESE TEXT.

大乘二十頌論

龍樹菩薩造

西天譯經三藏朝奉大夫試光祿卿傳法大師賜紫臣施護奉

詔譯

1 歸命不可思議性 諸佛無著真實智 諸法非言非無言 佛悲愍故善宣說

2 第一義無生 隨轉而無性 佛衆生一相 如虛空平等 3 此彼岸無生 自性緣所生 彼諸行皆空

一切智智行 4 無染真如性 無二等寂靜 諸法性自性 如影像無異 5 凡夫分別心 無實我計我

故起諸煩惱 及苦樂捨等 6 世間老病死 爲苦不可愛 隨諸業墜墮 此實無有樂 7 天趣勝妙樂

地獄極大苦 皆不實境界 六趣常輪轉 8 衆生妄分別 煩惱火燒燃 墮地獄等趣 如野火燒林

9 衆生本如幻 復取幻境界 履幻所成道 不了從緣生 10 如世間畫師 畫作夜叉相 自畫已自怖

此名無智者 11 衆生自起染 造彼輪迴因 造已怖墜墮 無智不解脫 12 衆生虛妄心 起疑惑垢染

無性計有性 受苦中極苦 13 佛見彼無救 乃起悲愍意 故發菩提心 廣修善提行 14 得無上智果

即觀察世間 分別所纏縛 故爲作利益 15 從生及生已 悉示正真義 後觀世間空 離初中後際

16 觀生死涅槃 是二俱無我 無染亦無壞 本清淨常寂 17 夢中諸境界 覺已悉無見 智者寢寢睡

亦不見生死 18 愚癡闇蔽者 墜墮生死海 無生計有生 起世間分別 19 若分別有生 衆生不如理

於生死法中 起常樂我想 20 此一切唯心 安立幻化相 作善不善業 感善不善生 21 若滅於心輪

即滅一切法 是諸法無我 諸法悉清淨 若能不起分別心 一切衆生何所生 22 於彼諸法性中

22 佛廣宣說世間法 當知即是無明緣 智者應當如是知 24 生死輪迴大海中 衆生煩惱水充滿

實求少法不可得 如世幻師作幻事 若不運載以大乘 畢竟何能到彼岸

大乘二十頌論

TIBETAN TEXT.

I (T¹).

rga.gar.skad.du l ma.hā.yā.na.vim.śa.ka l
bod.skad.du l theg.pa.chen.po.ni.ñi.su.pa ll
dkon.mchog.gsum.la.phyag.ḥtshal.lo ll

1

gaṇ.gis. brjod.paḥi.chos.kyis. ni l
brjod.du.med. kyaṇ brtse.bas. bstan l
chags.med. blo.can. blo¹.med.paḥi l
mthu.can. saṅs.rgyas.la. phyag. ḥtshal ll

2

skye.ba. don.du. yod. ma. yin l
ḥgag.paḥaṇ de.ñid.du.med. de l
saṅs.rgyas. nam.mkhha. ji.bžin.la l
sems.can.rnams. kyaṇ. mtshan.ñid.gcig ll

3

pha.rol. tshul².bžin. skyes.pa.yi l
ḥdus.bys. rten.skyes. de.dag.kyaṇ l
raṇ.gi.ṇo.bo. stoṇ.pa.ñid l
kun.mkhen.ye.śes.spyod.yul.can ll

4

dṇos.po. thams.cad. raṇ.bžin.gyis l
gzugs.brñan.daṇ. ni. mtshuṅs.par. ḥdod l
dag. daṇ. zi.baḥi.raṇ.bžin. te l
gñis.med. de.bžin.ñid. daṇ. mtshuṅs ll

5

so.soḥi.skye.bo. de.ñid. du l
brag.med.na. yaṇ. ḥdag.ñid. du l
bde. daṇ. sdug.bsṇal. btaṇ.sñoms. daṇ l
ñion.moṅs. kun.tu. rnam.par.brtaḡ ll

¹ P *blon*. Read *bla*. Here *bla.med* = *bla.na.med*.

² Read *tshu.rol* omitting *yi*. See Note 5.

6

ḥkhor.bar. ḥgro.ba. rnam.drug. daṇ 1
 bde.ḥgro. bde.ba. mchog. ñid. daṇ 1
 dmyal.bar. sdug.bsṇal. chen.po. daṇ 1
 yul.la. de.ñid. mi.bsam.par¹ 11

7

gžan.yaṇ. mi.dge. sdug.bsṇal. daṇ 1
 rga.daṇ. na. daṇ. mi.rtag.ñid 1
 las.rnams.kyi. ni. rnam.smin. daṇ² 1
 bde.ba. daṇ. ni. sdug.bsṇal. ñid 11

8

yaṇ.dag. ri.mo.mkhan.gyis. ni 1
 śin.tu.ḥjigs.byed. gśen.rjeḥi.gzugs 1
 bris.te. raṇ. yaṇ. ḥjigs.pa. ltar 1
 ḥkhor.bar. rmoṇs.paḥaṇ. de.bžin. no 11

9

ji.ltar.raṇ.gis. ḥdam. byas.nas 1
 byis.pa. ḥgaḥ³.ba. ḥdren.pa.ltar 1
 de.bžin. śin.tu. dgaḥ.ba.yi 1
 rnam.rtog.ḥdam.du. sems.can. byiṇ 11

10

med.la. yod.par.mthoṇ.ba. yin 1
 sdug.bsṇal. tshor.ba. myoṇ.bar.byed 1
 ñam.ṇa. phyin.ci.log.blo.yis 1
 rtag.paḥi dug.gis. gnod.par.byed 11

11

skyabs.med. de.dag. mthoṇ.nas. ni 1
 sñiṇ.rjeḥi.dbaṇ.gyur.yid.can.gyis 1
 saṇs.rgyas. phan.mdzad. sems.can.rnams 1
 rdzogs.paḥi. byaṇ.chub. la. spyod⁴. mdzad 11

¹ See Notes.

² For *smin.daṇ* P *par.smin*.

³ Both N and P *dgaḥ*.

⁴ P *sbyor*.

12

de.dag. bsod.nams. tshogs. bsags.nas 1
 rtog.paḥi.dra.ba.las. grol.te 1
 ye.śes. bla.na.med.pa. ḥthob 1
 saṅs.rgyas. hjig.rten.gñen.du. ḥgyur 11

13

yaṅ.dag.don.ni. mthoṅ.baḥi.phyir 1
 ji.bžin.ye.śes.skyes.pa.rnams 1
 de.nas. thog.mthaḥ.bar.spaṅs.paḥi 1
 hgro.ba. stoṅ.pa. ñid. du. mthoṅ 11

14

de.dag. bdag.ñid. ḥkhor.ba.daṅ 1
 mya.ṇan.ḥdas.pa¹ mi. mthoṅ. ṇo 1
 ma.gos. ḥgyur.ba. med.pa. daṅ 1
 gzoṅ.nas. ži.žip. ḥod.gsal.baḥo 11

15

rmi.lam.ṇams.su.myoṅ.baḥi. yul 1
 sad.par.gyur ni.² mi. mthoṅ. ṇo 1
 rmoṅs.paḥi.mun.pa.sad.pa.yis 1
 ḥkhor.ba. mthoṅ.ba. ma. yin. ñid 11

16

raṅ.bžin.med.paḥi. dṇos.rnams.la 1
 rtag.bdag.bde.bahi.³ hdu.śes.kyis 1
 chags.rmoṅs.mun.pas. bsgribs.pa.na 1
 srid.paḥi.rga.mtsho. ḥdi. ḥbyuṅ. ṇo 11

17

skye.bo.⁴ raṅ.ñid. ma.skyes.rnams 1
 hjig.rten.rnams.kyis. skye.bar. brtags 1
 rnam.par.rtog. daṅ. sems.⁵can.rnams 1
 ḥdi. daṅ. gñis.kar. rigs⁶ ma. yin 11

¹ P *paḥi* for *pa*.

² Both N and P *na*.

³ N *med*.

⁴ Both N and P *ba* for *bo*. See Notes.

⁵ P *sems*, evidently a misprint.

⁶ N *rig*.

18

ḥdi.dag. thams.cad. sems.tsam. 'ste¹ l
 sgyu.mar.ḥgyur.ba.bžin. du. skye l
 de.las. dge. daṇ. mi.dge. las l
 de.las. ske.ba. bžan. daṇ. ṇan ll

19

sems.kyi. hkhor.ba. ḥgags.pa.na l
 kun.gyi. chos.ñid. ḥgag.pa. yin l
 de.ñid. chos.la. bdag. med. de l
 de.ñid. chos.kyi. rnam.dag. ste ll

20

* * * *
 theg.pa.che.la. ma.brten.par l
 ḥkhor.baḥi.rga.mtsho.chen.po.yi l
 pha.rol. brgal.bar. ḥgyur.ba. med² l

theg.pa.chen.po.ñi.su.pa. slob.dpon. ḥphags.pa. klu.sgrub.kyis.
 mdzad.pa. rdzogs. so ll

kha.cheḥi. paṇ.ḍi.ta. ā.nan.da. daṇ l lo.tsa.ba. dge.sloṇ. grags.hbyor
 śes.rab.kyis. bsgyur.baḥo ll

¹ N *ste*.

² P *mīn*.

TIBETAN TEXT.

II (T²)

rgya.gar.skod.du l ma.hā.yā.na.vim.śi.kā ll
bod.skad.du l theg.pa.chen.po.ñi.su.pa ll

ḥjam.dpal.gžon.nur.gyur.pa.la. phyag ḥtshal.lo ll

1

chags.med. thugs.su.chud. saṅs.rgas l
rjod.byed. bjod.par.bya.ba.min l
thugs.rjes. rgyal.bar.¹ snaṅ. gyur.pa l
mthu.bsam.mi.khyab. phyag.ḥtshal.lo ll

2

dam.paḥi.don.du. skye.med.phyir l
de.ñid.du. ni. grol.baḥaṅ. med l
mkhaḥ.bžin. saṅs.rgas. de.bžin. te l
sems.can. daṅ. ni. mtshan.ñid.cig ll

3

pha.rol. tshu².rol. skye. med.pas l
raṅ.bžin. mya.ṅan.ḥdas.paḥaṅ. med l
de.bžin. ḥdus.byas. mṅon.par. stoṅ l
kun.mkhyen.ye.śes.spyod.yul. yin ll

4

dṅos.po. kun.gyi. raṅ.bžin.ni l
gzugs.brñan. daṅ. ni. mtshuṅs.par.rtogs ll
rnam.dag. ži.bahi.ṅo.bo. ñid l
gñis.med. de. bžin. ñid.du. mñam ll

5

bdag. daṅ. bdag.med. bden. min. te l
so.sohi.skye.bos. brtags.pa. yin l
bde. daṅ. sdug.bsṅal. ltos.³pa. ste l
ñon. moṅs. rnms. daṅ grol.de.bžin ll

¹ N *ba*.

² As suggested by Yamaguchi the original reading is *tshul*.

³ N *bltos*.

6

ḡgro.ba. rigs. drug. ḡkhor.ba.ru 1
 mtho.ris. mchog. daṇ. bde.ba. daṇ 1
 dmyal.bar. sdug.bsṇal. chen.po. ste 1
 de.dag. yul.rnams. ṇams.su.myoṇ 11

7

mi.dges. mchog.tu. sdug.bsṇal. žiṇ 1
 dgaḡ.na. mi.rtag. rgud.pa. yin 1
 dge.baḡi. las.rnams.ṇīd.kyis. kyaṇ 1
 bzaṇ.po.ṇīd.du. ṇes.pa. yin 11

8

skye.med.rtog¹.pas. bskrun.pa.yis 1
 * * * *
 dmyal.la.sogs.pa. sṇaṇ.ba.ni 1
 ṇes.pa. ngas.kyi. me.bžin. bsreg 11

9

sgyu.ma. ji.lta. ji.lta.bar. 1
 de.bžin. sems.can. yul.la.spyod 1
 ḡgro.ba. sgyu.maḡi.raṇ.bžin. yin 1
 de.bžin.du. ni. brten.nas. byuṇ 11

10

ji.ltar. ri.mo.mkhan. gyis².gzugs 1
 gnod.sbyin. ḡjigs.pa. bris.pa.yis 1
 de.yis. raṇ.ṇīd. skrag.pa.ltar 1
 mi.mkhas ḡkhor.bar. de.bžin. no 11

11

ji.ltar. raṇ.gis. ḡdam. gyos.pas 1
 byis.pa. ḡgaḡ.žig. byiṇ.ba.ltar 1
 de.bžin. rtog.paḡi. ḡdam.byiṇ.bas 1
 sems.can.rnams.ni. hbyuṇ. mi. nus 11

¹ Read *rtog*. See Notes.

² N *gyi*.

12

dṇos.med. dṇos.por. lta.ba.yis¹ 1
 sdug.bsṇal.tshor.ba. ṇams.su.myoṇ 1
 yul. daṇ. ses.pa. de.dag.tu 1
 rnam. par. rtog².paḥi. dug.gis. bcīṇis 11

13

de.dag. sṇiṇ.po.med. mthoṇ.bas 1
 śes.rab.sṇiṇ.rjeḥi.yid.kyis. ni 1
 sems.can.rnams.la. phan.paḥi.phyir 1
 rdzogs. saṇs.rgyas.la. sbyor³.bar. bya 11

14

des. kyaṇ. tshogs. bsags. kun.rdzob. tu 1
 bla.na.med.paḥi. byaṇ. chub. thob 1
 rtog.paḥi. ḥchiṇ.ba.rnams.las. grol 1
 saṇs.rgas. de. ni. ḥjig.rten.gñen 11

15

ji.ltar. rten.cīṇ.ḥbrel.ḥbyuṇ.ba 1
 gaṇ.gis.⁴ yaṇ.dag. don.du. gzigs 1
 de.yis. ḥgro.ba. stoṇ.par. mkhyen 1
 thog.ma. dbus. daṇ.tha.ma.⁵ spaṇs 11

16

de.ltar. mthoṇ.bas. ḥkhor.ba. daṇ 1
 mya.ṇan.ḥdas.paḥaṇ de.ñid. min 1
 ṇon.moṇs.pa.yi. rnam.pa.med. 1
 thog.ma.dbus.mthaḥ⁶.raṇ.bžin.gsal⁷ 11

17

rmi.lam. ṇams.sa.myoṇ.ba.bžin. 1
 so.sor.rtogs.pas. snaṇ.ba.min 1
 rmoṇs.paḥi. mun.pa. gñid.sad.la 1
 ḥkhor.ba.rnams. ni. dmigs.pa. med 11

¹ N *yin*.² N *rtogs*.³ N *sbyar*.⁴ N P *gt*.⁵ It is in P, N reads *mthaḥ.ma*.⁶ P *mthaḥi*.⁷ P *bsal*.

18

sgyu.maḥi.¹ sprul.pa. sgyu.mar. mthon 1
 gaṇ.tshe. ḥdus.pa. deḥi. tshe 1
 cuṇ.zad. yod.pa. ma. yin.te 1
 de. ni. chos.rnams. chos.ñid. yin 11

19

ḥdi.dag. thams.cad. sems.tsam. te² 1
 sgyu.ma..lta.bur. gnas.pa. yin 1
 dge. daṇ. mi.dge. las.rnams.kyis 1
 de.yis. bzaṇ. ṇan. skye.ba.rnams 11

20

sams.kyi. ḥkhor.lo. ḥgags.pa.yis 1
 chos.rnams. thams.cad. ḥgag.pa. ñid 1
 de.phyir. chos. ñid. bdag. med. ciṇ 1
 des.na. chos.ñid. rnam.par.dag 11

21

dṇos.po. ḥam. ni. raṇ.bzin.la 1
 rtag.tu. bde.bar. hdu.śes. śiṇ 1
 rmoṇs.paḥi. mun.pas. bsgribs.pas.na 1
 byis.pa.ḥkhor.baḥi. rga.mtshor. ḥkhyam 11

22

rtog.paḥi. chu.bos. gaṇ.ba.yi 1
 ḥkhor.baḥi.rga.mtsho.chen.po.la 1
 theg.chen.gru.la. mi.žon.par³ 1
 gaṇ.gis. pha.rol. phyin.par.ḥgyur 11

23

ma.rig⁴ rkyen.gis. byuṇ.ba. ḥdi 1
 yaṇ.dag. ḥjig.rten.mkhyen.paḥi. phyir 1
 rnam.par.rtog.pa. ḥdi.dag. ni 1
 ci.žig.las. ni. ḥbyuṇ.bar. ḥgyur 11

theg.pa.chen.po.ñi.su.pa. slob.dpon. klu.sgrub.kyi.žal.spa.nas.mdzad.pa.
 rdzogs.so 11

rgya.gar.gi. mkhan.po. tsan.dra.ku.mā.ra. daṇ. dge.sloṇ.

śā.kya.ḥod.kyis. bsgur 11

¹ P mas.

² P pa.

³ N can.te for tsam.te.

⁴ N rigs.

NOTES

COMPARATIVE AND EXEGETIC.

For *triratnāya* T² *mañjuśrikumārabhūtāya*.

1

- a C namo' cintyabhāvarūpebhyaḥ
T¹ yena vāgdharmeṇa
T² vītarāgair avabudhair buddhaiḥ
b C buddhebhyo vītragebhyaḥ
T¹ avacanam (or avācyam) api dayayā deśitam
T² vītarāgair avācyam
c C dharmā avacanā nāvacanāḥ
T¹ vītarāgāya matimate 'nuttara-
T² dayayā suprakāśitam
d C buddhena dayayā sudeśitaḥ
T¹ śaktaye buddhāya namaḥ
T² acityaśaktaye namaḥ.

Comparison.

C a, T¹ c (last part) and d, T² d ; C b, T¹ c and d, T² a ;
C c, T¹ b, T² b ; C d, T¹ b, T² c.

Restoration.

a C a, c, d ; T¹ a, b ; T² b. b C d ; T¹ b ; T² c. c C b ; T¹ c ;
T² a. d C a, d ; T¹ c, d ; T² d.

In c of T¹ after *blo.can* P has *blon.med*, while N reads *blo.med*. The last word *paḥi* shows that *blon.med* or *blo.med* is to be construed with the following word *mithu* in d. I think, therefore, that one should read here neither of the above two readings, but *bla.med* (= *bla.na.med.pa*) meaning *anuttara* in Sanskrit. It closely corresponds to the *mithu.bsam.mi.khyab* of T² in d, and is fully supported by C a (*pu k'o ssu i ksing*).

In a *vāgdharmeṇa* (or *vācā*) *avācyam* (or *anabhilāpam*) (T¹ *brjod.paḥi.chos.kyis.ni.brjod.du.med*, T² *rjod.byed.brjod.par.bya.ba.min*), or *na vācyam* (or *abhilāpyam*) and *na avācyam* (*anabhilāpyam*), or *na vacanam* and *na avacanam* (C *fei yen fei wu yen*), refers to Buddha's *anakṣara*

dharma, i.e., the *dharma* which is not expressed, or cannot be expressed by words. See MV., p. 264 ; BCP, (with a slight variation), p. 365 :

anakṣarasya dharmasya śrutiḥ kā deśanā ca kā l
śrūyate deśyate cāpi samāropād anakṣaraḥ ll

yasyām rātrau tatāgato'bhisambuddho yasyām ca parinirvṛto'trāntare
tathāgatenaikam apy akṣaram nodāhrtam. See *Lankāvatāra*, ed. B.
Nanjio, p. 143 ; Suduki, *Studies in the Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, p. 376.
Catustava (*Nirupamastava*, 7) quoted in BCP., p. 420, and *Tattvaratnāvalī*
in *Advayavajrasangraha*, GOS, p. 22 :

nodāhrtam tvayā kiñcid ekamapy akṣaram vibho l
kṛtsnaś ca vaineyajano dharmavarṣeṇā tarpitaḥ ll

Cf. also the following (MV, pp. 348-429) :

yo 'pi ca cintayi śūnyakadharmān
so 'pi kumārgapapannaku bālaḥ l
akṣarakīrttita śūnyakadharmās
te ca anaksara aksara uktāḥ ll

Mahāyānasūtrāṅkārā, XII. 2 :

dharmo naiva ca deśito bhagavatā pratyātmavedyo yata
ākṛṣṭa janatā ca yuktavihitair dharmaiḥ svakīṃ dharmatām l

Kenopaniṣad, 3 :

na tatra cakṣur gacchati na vāg gacchati no manaḥ l
na vidmo no vijānīmo yathaitad anuśiṣyāt ll

2

- a C paramārthena notpādaḥ
T¹ utpādo vastuto nāsti
T² paramārthena anutpādāt
- b C anuvṛttiś ca na svabhāvataḥ
T¹ nirodho 'pi na tattvataḥ
T² mokṣo 'pi nāsti tattvataḥ
- c C buddhaḥ sattva ekalakṣaṇaḥ
T¹ ākāśavad yathā buddhaḥ
T² ākāśavad tathā buddhaḥ
- d C ākāśavat sāmānyato drṣṭam
T¹ sattvā apy ekalakṣaṇāḥ
T² sattvās ca ekalakṣaṇāḥ

Comparison.

C a, T¹a, T²a; C b, T¹b, T²b; C d, T¹c, T²c; C c,
T¹d, T²d.

Restoration.

a C a; T¹a; T²a. b C b; T¹b; T²b. c C d; T¹c; T²c.
d C c; T d; T² d.

In b for *nirodha* (ḥgag.ḥa) or *mokṣa* (grol.ba) in T¹ and T² respectively, C *anuvṛtti* (zui ten) which is evidently a wrong reading for *nirvṛti*. The reading *mokṣa* in T² is certainly not better than *nirodha*.

Nāgārjuna's doctrine of *anutpāda* and *anirodha* is well-known, and specially in his *Madhyamaka-kārikā*.

The following from his *Yuktiṣaṣṭkā*, 22, may be quoted here :

de.ltar.ci yaṇ skye.ba.med l
ci.yaṇ.ḥgag.par mi.ḥgyur.ro ll

We may translate it thus :

evam na kaścīd utpado l
nirodho pi na kaścana ll

Like the sky the Buddha and the beings have neither *utpāda* (origination) nor *nirodha* (cessation). Therefore, in this respect they have the same characteristics. See *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpārmīṭā*, pp. 39-40 : māyopamās te devaputrāḥ sattvāḥ svapnopamās te devaputrāḥ sattvāḥ°. samyaksambuddho'py ārya subhūte māyopahaḥ svapnopamaḥ ; BCP, IX, 151 (p. 590) : *yataś cānutpannāniruddhāḥ sarvadharmā ata āha nirvṛt-etyādi.*

nirvṛtānirvṛtānām ca viśeṣo nāsti vastutaḥ l

The following *kārikā* of which the wording is to be noted, is quoted here from Nāgārjuna's *Catuḥstava* cited in BCP, p. 590.

buddhānaṃ sattvadhatoś ca yenābhinnatvam arthataḥ l
ātmanaś ca pareṣāṃ ca samatā tena te matā ll

3

- a C nāsmims tasmims taṭe jātiḥ
T¹ tata ita iva jātir nāsti
T² jatyabhāvāt tata itaḥ
b C svabhāvena pratītyasmutpannāni
T¹ saṃskṛtāni pratyotpannāni tāni
T² na nirvāṇaṃ svabhāvataḥ

- c C tāni saṃskṛtāni sarvāṇi śūnyāni
 T¹ svarupeṇa śūnyāny eva
 T² vyaktam tathā saṃskṛtam śūnyam
 d C sarvajñajñānagocaraḥ
 T¹ „
 T² „

Comparison.

Ca, T¹a, T²a ; C b, T b ; C c, T¹c, T²c ; C d, T¹d, T²d.

Restoration.

a Ca ; T¹a ; T²a. b Cb ; T¹b. c Cc ; T¹c ; T²c. d Cd ; T¹d ; T²d.

T²b differs from all.

In T¹a *tshul* does not give here any suitable sense. We should, therefore, read for it *tshu.rol*, *Skt. itaḥ* agreeing with Chinese. And in that case for the sake of metre the following *pa* is to be omitted. In T²a, too, for the original reading *tshul* read *tshu* as suggested by Yamaguchi.

4

- a C akliṣṭās tathatārūpāḥ
 T¹ sarve bhāvāḥ svabhāvena
 T² „
 b C advayāḥ śāntāḥ
 T¹ pratibimbamā matāḥ
 T² „
 c C sarve dharmā lakṣaṇasvabhāvena
 T¹ śuddhāḥ śāntasvabhāvāś ca
 T² viśuddhāḥ śāntasvarūpāś ca
 d C pratibimbopamā abhinnāḥ (= samāḥ)
 T¹ advayās tathatā samāḥ
 T² „

Comparison.

C a, T¹ c-d, T² c-d ; C b, T¹ c-d, T² c-d ; C c, T¹ a, T² a ; C d, T¹ b-d, T² b-d.

Restoration.

a C c ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C d ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C a-b ; T¹ c ; T² c. d C a-b-d ; T¹ d ; T² d.

For *śuddha* and *śāntasvabhāva* see the note on *kārikā* 16, and MV., p. 373.8 : etac ca śāntasvabhāvaṃ ataimrikakeśādarsanavat svabhāvarahitam. The word *advaya* means *grāhyagrāhakarāhita*, 'without percipient and perceptible.' The word *tathata* generally translated by 'suchness' or 'thisness' means 'absolute reality.' (*tatha* 'true'). Here this absolute reality is nothing but *śūnyatā* 'voidness' or 'relativity' as Stcherbatsky has, I think, rightly translated. It is meant here by using the word that things are *śūnya*, *pratītyasamutpanna*. See MV, p. 196 : śūnyatām tathatālakṣaṇām ; *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 263 : Dharmasangītyām apy uktam tathatā tathateti kulaputra śūnyatāyā etad adhivacanam. sā ca śūnyatā notpadyate na nirudhyate. āha. yady evaṃ dharmāḥ śūnyā uktā bhagavatā kasmāt sarvadharmā notpatsyante na nirotsyante nirārambho bodhisattvaḥ. āha. evam eva kulputra tathā yathābhisambudhyase sarvadharmā notpadyante na nirodhyante. āha. yad etad uktam bhagavatā samskṛtā dharmā utpadyante niruddhyante cety asya tathāgatabhāṣitasya ko 'bhīrprāyaḥ. āha. utpādanirodhābhiniṣṭaḥ kulputra lokasanniveśaḥ. tatra tathāgato mahākāruṇiko lokasyottrāsapadaparihārārtham vyavahāraśāśā uktavān utpadyante nirudhyante ceti. no cātra kaścyacid dharmasyotpādo na nirodha iti. BPC, p. 354 : para uttamo'rthaḥ paramārthaḥ akṛtrimam vastusvarūpam sarvadharmāṇām niḥsvabhāvatā śūnyatā tathatā bhūtakotir dharmadhātur ityādiptyāyāḥ. See *Madhyāntavibhanga* of Maitreya-nātha, I. 16. Here the following is quoted from Sthiramati's *ṭīkā* (fol. 14^a. 1. 3), the Italicised words being in the commentary by Vasubandhu on the original work (*Tanjur*, Mdo, Bi, fol. 6^a. 1. 2) : tatra *ananyathārthena tathateti* avikriyārthenety [arthaḥ. tattvākhyānān *nityam tathātvad* ity uktam. nityam sarvasmin kāle 'samskṛtatvān na vikriyata ity arthaḥ.¹ See also *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, pp. 273, 374 ; Stcherbatsky : *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana*, p. 35.

Things are *sama* 'equal' for all of them have no *utpāda* 'origination.' Let us cite here the following passage in the *Āryasatyadvayāvatārasūtra* quoted in the MV, pp. 374, 375 : paramārthataḥ sarvadharmānutpādasamatayā paramārthataḥ sarvadharmāntājātisamatayā samā dharmāḥ. See *Gauḍapāda's Āgamaśāstra*, IV, 93.

¹ The following is in Vasubandhu's *Triṃśikā* (Lévi., p. 41) : *tathatāpi sah. sarvaśālaṃ tathābhāvatī*. Com : *tathatā tathā hi prthagjanasaikṣyāśaikṣāvasthāsu tathāiva bhavati*.

5

- a C pṛthagjano vikalpacittena
 T¹ pṛthagjanena tattvena
 T² ātmānātmā na satyaḥ
- b C tattvata anātmānam ātmeti manyate
 T¹ anātmany apy ātmā
 T² pṛthagjanena kalpitāḥ
- c C tasmād uttiṣṭhanti kleśāḥ
 T¹ sukhaṁ duḥkham upekṣā
 T² sukhaṁ duḥkham apekṣā
- d C punar duḥkhasukhopekṣā
 T¹ kleśāḥ sarvatra vikalpitāḥ
 T² kleśo mokṣas tathā

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a, T² b ; C b, T¹ b, T² a ; C c, T¹ d, T² d ; C d, T¹ c, T² c.

Restoration.

a C b ; T¹ b ; T² a. b C a ; T¹ a ; T² b. c C c-d ; T¹ c ; T² c. d C c ; T¹ d ; T² d.

In c for *upekṣā* (T² c *blaṅ.sñoms*, C d *she*) T¹ c reads *apekṣā* (*bltos. pa*) which is certainly not a good reading.

6

- a C devagatau (=śvarge) viśiṣṭaṁ sukhaṁ
 T¹ saṁsāre gatayaḥ ṣoḍhā
 T² saṁsāre gatayaḥ ṣat
- b C narake 'timātraṁ duḥkhaṁ
 T¹ sugatāv uttamaṁ sukhaṁ
 T² paramaḥ svargaḥ sukhaṁ ca
- c C sarvaṁ na satyagocaraḥ
 T¹ narake ca mahāduḥkhaṁ
 T² „
- d C ṣaḍ gatayo nityaṁ pravartante
 T¹ viśayas tattvenācintyaḥ
 T² tāni viśayeṣu vedyante

Comparison.

C a, T¹ b, T² b ; C b, T¹ c, T² c ; C c, T¹ d ; C d, T¹ a, T² a

Restoration.

a C d ; T¹ a ; T² b. b C a ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C b ; T¹ c ; T² c.
d C c ; T¹ d.

T² d differs from all.

In d P of T¹ reads *yul.de.ñid.mi.bsam.par* which is evidently an incomplete line. Here N adds *la* between *yul* and *de*, thus making the line complete. It is, however, not satisfactory. In order to make the line in P complete we may read *bsam* with N for *bsams*, adding *yod* at the end, and it agrees to some extent with C c.

7

a C loke jarā vyādhir maraṇam
T¹ api cākuśalam duḥkham ca
T² aśubhāt paramam duḥkham
b C bhavati duḥkham anīṣṭam
T¹ jarā vyādhir anityatā
T² vyasanam prītyanityatā
c C karmānusāreṇa patanam
T¹ karmaṇām vipākaḥ
T² śubhair eva karmabhis tu
d C tat satyam asukham
T¹ sukham duḥkham eva ca
T² śubham eva niścitam

Comparison.

C a, T¹ b, T² b ; C b, T¹ a, T² a ; C c, T¹ c, T² c ; C d, T¹ d.
T² d.

Restoration.

a C b ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C a ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C c ; T¹ c ; T² c.
d C d ; T¹ d ; T² d.

For the reading *na* in b of T¹ Mr. Yamaguchi unnecessarily suggests to read *nad*, both the words *na* (= *na.ba*) and *nad* meaning *vyādhi* 'disease.' In b of T² we have *dgaḥ.na*, but may one not read here *dkah* for *dgaḥ*? In that case it would mean *kṛcchram vyādhiḥ* or *kṛcchravyādhiḥ. mi.rtag (.ñid)=anityatā. rgud.pa=vyasana.*

8

a C sattvā mithyākalanayā
T¹ o

- T² anutpādāvabodhena utpādanāt (?)
 b C kleśāgninā dahyante
 T¹ o
 T² o
 c C narakādigaṭiṣu patanti
 T¹ o
 T² drśyante narakādiṣu
 d C yathā dāvāgninā vanam dahyate
 T¹ o
 T² doṣeṇa dāvāgñineva dahyante

Comparison.

C b-d, T² d ; C c, T² c.

Restoration.

a C a. b C d. c C b ; T² d. d C c ; T² c.

T¹ is entirely wanting. T² has only three lines a, c, and d, b being missing. The reading in a of T² is evidently defective. It does not give here any appropriate meaning. According to C *a cheng shêng wang fên pieh* one may, as Mr. Yamaguchi suggests, read here *skye.bo.rtog.pas* for the original, meaning *janaḥ kalpanayā*. Or in the original reading let one take *skye* for *skye.bo* (*janaḥ*) or *skyes.bu* (*purusaḥ*) ; *med* which means *abhāva* may be taken in the sense of *abhūta* ; and *rtog.pas* (for the original *rtogs.pas*) means *kalpanayā* ; thus just like C we have *purusaḥ* (or *janaḥ* or *sattvaḥ*) *abhūtakalpanayā*. In accordance with C b the following may be suggested for T²b : *ñon.mon.s.paḥi.mes.sreg.pa.ni* = *dahyate kleśavahninā*.

9

- a C sattvo mūlato yathā māyā
 T² yathā yathā bhaven māyā
 b C punar māyāviṣayaṁ gṛahṇāti
 T² tathā sattvo gocaraḥ
 c C gacchan māyākṛtāyām gatau
 T² jagan māyāsvarūpaṁ
 d C na buddhyate pratītyasamutpannam
 T² tathā pratītyasamutpannam

Comparison.

C a-b, T² a-b ; C d, T² d.

Restoration.

a T² a. b T² b. c T² c. d T² d.

This kārīkā is not in T¹.

The restoration is entirely from T² with which C agrees substantially differing only in details. Tib. *ḥgro* in *c* may mean both *gati* and *jagat*. I prefer here the latter. For this C has *tāo* meaning *gati* (not *mārga*, though generally it is taken in that sense) as in *lu tao 'ṣaḍ gatayaḥ'*, Tib. *ḥgro.ba.rigs.drug*. This *gati* has already been referred to in kārīkā 6.

10

a C yathā loke citrakarḥ

T¹ samīcīnaś citrakaraḥ

T² yathā citrakaro rūpaṃ

b C yakṣasya ākr̥tim ankayati

T¹ atibhyankaraṃ yamasya rūpaṃ

T² yakṣasya bhayankarma ankayitvā (*lit.* ankanena)

c C svayam ankayitvā svayaṃ bibhēti

T¹ ankayitvā svayaṃ bibhēti

T² tena svayaṃ bibhēti

d C sa ucyate ajñāḥ

T¹ saṃsāre mūḍho 'pi tathā

T² saṃsāre 'budhas tathā

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a, T² a ; C b, T¹ b, T² b ; C c, T¹ c, T² c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

The original kārīkā is found quoted in the *Tikā* of *Āścaryacaryācaya* wrongly named *Caryācaryaviniścaya*,¹ edited by Pandit Haraprasad Shastri with other three books in a volume named *Buddha Gāna o Dohā*, Vangīya Sāhitya-Pariṣad, 1323 B. S., p. 6.

In *d* of the original kārīkā as found in the above book is *saṃsāre hy abudhas tathā*. Here for *hi* one may read *api* agreeing with T¹ *d* : *ḥkhor.bar. rmoṃs.paḥaṇ. de bžin.no*. Mark here *ḥaṇ*.

In Yamaguchi's edition of the Tib. text read *skrag* for *sgrag* in *c* of T², and *rmoṃs* for *rmoṇ* in *d* of T¹.

The main difference among C, T², and T¹ is that the last one reads *yama* for *yākṣa* in the first two supported by the original Sanskrit.

¹ For details see my note in *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 1.

11

- a C sattvaḥ svayam utpādayati rāgaṁ
 T¹ yathā svayaṁ paṅkaṁ krtvā
 T² yathā svayaṁ paṅke calanena
- b C tena saṁsārahetuṁ
 T¹ bālaḥ kaścid ākrṣṭaḥ
 T² bālaḥ kaścin nimagnaḥ
- c C kṛtvā bibheti patanāt
 T¹ tathātyānanda-
 T² tathā kalpanāpanke nimajjya
- d C ajñānāvimuktaḥ
 T¹ vikalpapaṅke sattvā nimagnāḥ
 T² sattvā udgamanākṣamāḥ

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a, T² a; C b, c, d differ from T¹ and T²; T¹ b, T² b; T¹ c differs from C, T²; T² c, T¹ d; T² d excepting the word *sattva* (C a, T¹ d) differs from C and T¹. In d C *avimukta* may be compared with *udganākṣama* in T².

Restoration.

- a T¹ a; T² a. b T¹ b; T² b. c T¹ d; T² c. d T² d.

The restoration is mainly from T². In the end of a of C *jan* 'to dye' implies *rañjana*, here *rāga* 'attachment'.

In b of T¹ both P as in Yamaguchi's edition and N read *dgaḥ* which must be changed to *hgaḥ*.

12

- a C sattvā mithyācittena
 T¹ abhāve bhāvadārśanena
 T² „
- b C utpādayanti mohamalarāgam
 T¹ vedyate duḥkhavedanā
 T² „
- c C niḥsvabhāvaṁ kalpayanti sasvabhāvaṁ
 T¹ ātankaviparītabuddhyā
 T² jñānaviṣayayos tayoḥ
- d C vedyante duḥkhe'tiduḥkham
 T¹ kalpanāviṣeṇa bādhyante
 T² vitarkaviṣeṇa bādhyante

Comparison.

C a-b, T¹ c ; C c, T¹ a, T² a ; C d, T¹ b, T² b ;
T² c differs from all ; T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

a T¹ a ; T² a. b C d ; T¹ b ; T² b. c T² c. d T¹ d ; T² d.

In the end of a in T¹ both P and N read *min* which cannot be accepted. T² of N reads there *yin*. According to it one may read in T¹ a, too, *yin* for *min*. Yamaguchi suggests here *yis* agreeing with T²a of P which has *yis*. Undoubtedly this reading is better. At the beginning of a of T¹, P has, as Yamaguchi says, *dogs*, while N reads *rtogs*. Both the readings are wrong, the true reading being *rtog*. Read *rtog* also for *rtogs* in d of T² of N.

13

- a C buddhaḥ paśyati tān atrāṇān
T¹ tān aśaraṇān dṛṣṭvā
T² teṣāṃ asāratādarśanena
b C tata utpādayati karuṇācittam
T¹ karuṇāvaśamānasaḥ
T² prajñākāruṇyena manasā
c C tata utpādayati bodhicittam
T¹ hitakaro buddhaḥ sattvebhyaḥ
T² sattvānām upakārāya
d C vipulam abhyasyati¹ bodhicaryām
T¹ sambodhicaryām karoti² (N)

Or

sambodhau yogaṃ karoti² (P)
T² sambuddhasya yogaṃ kuryāt

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a-c, T² a ; C b, T¹ b, T² b ; C c differs from both T¹ and T² ; T¹ c, T² c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

a C a ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C b ; T¹ b ; T² b. c T¹ c ; T² c.
d C d ; T¹ d ; T² d.

In T¹ for *sṣyod* in d of N we have *sṣyor* in P. In T² for *sbyar* in d of N there is *sbyor* in P.

¹ Or *abhyasyet*.

² Or *kuryāt*.

14

- a C prapto'nuttarajñānaphalaṃ
 T¹ tayā puṇyasambhāraṃ sañcītya
 T² tena ca sambhāraḥ sañcītaḥ saṃvṛtau
- b C tadā parīkṣate lokam
 T¹ kalpanājālān muktaḥ
 T² anuttarāṃ bodhiṃ prāptaḥ
- c C vikalpāḥ bandhaḥ
 T¹ anuttaraṃ jñānam prāptaḥ
 T² kalpanābandhanān muktaḥ
- d C tasmād bhavati hitakaraḥ
 T¹ buddho lokabāndhavaḥ syāt
 T² buddhaḥ sa lokabāndhavaḥ

Comparison.

C a, T¹ c, T² b ; T¹ a, T² a ; C b, T¹ d, T² d ; C c, T¹ b, T² c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

T¹ a with regard to *saṃvṛtau* entirely differs from C and T². T¹ a, and T² a have also no agreement with C.

Restoration.

a T¹ a ; T² a. b C a ; T¹ c ; T² b. c C a ; T¹ b ; T² c. d C b-d ; T¹ d ; T² d.

15

- a C pratītyasamutpādat
 T¹ bhūtārthadarśanāya
 T² yathā[vat-]pratītyasamutpādāt
- b C jñāti bhūtārtham
 T¹ jātayathārthajñānaḥ
 T² bhūtārtham avalokate
- c C atha paśyati lokam śūnyam
 T¹ tata ādyantavarjitaṃ
 T² jagac chūnyam jñāti
- d C ādimadhyāntakoṭivarjitaṃ
 T¹ jagac chūnyam eva paśyati
 T² ādimadhyāntavarjitaṃ

Comparison.

C a, T¹ b, T² a ; C b, T¹ a, T² b ; C c, T¹ d, T² c ; C d, T¹ c, T² d.

Restoration.

a C a ; T¹ b ; T² a. b C b ; T¹ a ; T² b. c C c ; T¹ d ; T² c ;
d C d ; T¹ c ; T² d.

16

- a C paśyati saṃsāraṃ nirvāṇaṃ
T¹ ta ātmataḥ saṃsāraṃ
T² evaṃ darśanena saṃsāraḥ
b C etad ubhayam anātmataḥ
T¹ nirvāṇaṃ ca na paśyanti
T² nirvāṇaṃ ca na tattvataḥ
c C nirvāṇaṃ avipariṇataṃ
T¹ nirañjanaṃ nirvikāraṃ
T² akliṣṭākāraṃ
d C ādiśuddhaṃ nityaśāntam
T¹ ādiśāntaṃ prabhāsvaraṃ
T² ādimadhyāntaprakṛtibhāsvaraṃ

Comparison.

C a-b, T¹ a-b ; C c, T¹ c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

a-b C a-b ; T¹ a-b ; T² a-b. c C c ; T¹ c. d C d ; T¹ d ;
T² c-d.

For the first half of the restored kārikā cf. *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* 7 :

srid.pa. daṇ. ni. mya.ṇan.ḥdas l
gñis. po. ḥdi. ni. yod. ma. yin ll

It may be translated thus :

nirvāṇaṃ ca bhavaś caiva
dvayam etan na vidyate l

There is an almost entire agreement between C and T¹. The expression *ātmato* and *na* (*bdag.ñid* and *mi*) in *a* and *b* respectively of T¹ is in fact *anātmataḥ* (*wu wo*) in *b* of C. Here *ātman* means 'essence' *sva-rūpa*, which is the same as *tattva* (*tattvataḥ*, *de.ñid*) of T² *b*.

In *c* of C *wu jan* means *anupaliṣṭa* (Rosenburg: *Introduction*, Tokyo, 1916, p. 309) and this can be taken as a synonym for *nirañjana*,

ma. gos in T¹ c. *Tib. gos.pa* means *lipta* in Sanskrit (Sarat Chandra Das, *Tib.-Eng.Dict.*, p. 233). Therefore *ma.gos.pa* is *alip̥tā* and this is in fact *nirañjana*. The word *nirañjana* in the *Tattvaratnāvalī* published in the volume called *Advayavajrasaṅgraha*, GOS, p. 18, 1. 24, is translated in its Tibetan version actually by *ma.gos.pa*. For the significance of the word see *Madhyamakavṛtti*, pp. 285-6: *yaś ca vibhavo 'nupādānāḥ [sa] skandharahitatvāt prajñāptyupādānakāraṇarahitatvān nirhetukaḥ syāt. yaś cānupādāno nirañjano'vyakto nirhetukaḥ kaḥ sa na kaścit saḥ*. Cf. *Bramabindūpaṇiṣat*, 4: *nirvikalpaṁ nirañjanam*.

T¹c *nirvikāra* (*hgyur.ba.med*) and Cc *avipariṇata* (*wu huai*) are the same. Rosenberg, *Op. cit.*, p. 102. In such cases there is no difference between *vikāra* and *vipariṇāma*. In fact *nirvikāra* is *asamskṛta*. See *Mahāyānasūtrāṅkārā*, XI 37: *avikāritā asamskṛtam ākāśādikam*.

T¹ d *gzod 'ādi* and C d *pên 'mūla* may be taken here in the same sense.

T²c *akliṣṭākāra* (*ñon.monṣ.pa.yi.rnam.pa.med*) is in reality *śuddha* of C d *ch'ing ching*.

For T¹d *prabhāsvara* (*hod.gsal.ba*) and T²d *prakṛti-bhāsvara* (*raṇ.bžin.gsal* [as in N, P *bsal*] see *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 444; and *Mahāyānasūtrāṅkārā*, XI. 13:

tattvaṁ yat satataṁ dvayena rahitaṁ bhrānteś ca samniśrayaḥ
śakyam naiva ca sarvathābhilapitum yac cāprapañcātmakam l
jñeyaṁ heyam atho viśodhyam amalāṁ yac ca prakṛtyā mataṁ
yasyākāśasuvarṇavārisadr̥śī kleśād viśuddhir matā ll

ttīyaṁ viśodhyam cāgantukamalād viśuddham ca prakṛtyā. yasya prakṛtyā
viśuddhyasyākāśasuvarṇavārisadr̥śī kleśād viśuddhiḥ. na hy ākāśādīni
prakṛtyā aśuddhāni. na cāgantukamalāpagamād eṣāṁ viśuddhir
neṣyata iti.

In T²d *ādimadhyānta* (*thog.ma.dbus.mthaḥ*) means 'beginning, middle and end.' These are the different stages of a thing; they are merely supposed by ordinary people, but in reality there are no such things.

T¹d *ādiśānta* (*gzod.nas.ži*) 'originally quiescent' and Cd *nityaśānta* (*ch'ang chi*) 'eternally quiescent' are same. This is well-known in the Madhyamaka system; for instance, see Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakakārikā* VII, 16:

pratītya yad yad bhavati tat tac chāntaṁ svabhāvatatḥ l
tasmād utpyadamānaṁ ca śāntam utpattir eva ca ll

See *Madhyamakāvatāra* (Tib. text), p. 225 ; Gauḍapāda's *Āgamaśāstra* with the present writers commentary (to be published soon), IV. 93, and *Mahāyānasūtrāṅkāra*, XI. 51 : yo hi niḥsvabhāvaḥ so'nutpanno yo 'nutpannaḥ so 'niruddhaḥ sa ādisānto ya ādisāntaḥ sa prakṛtiparinirvṛta iti ; MV, p. 225 :

ādisāntā hyanutpannāḥ prakṛtyaiva ca nirvṛtāḥ.

Gauḍpāda's *Āgamaśāstra*, IV. 93.

ādisāntā hy anutpunnāḥ prakṛtyaiva sunirvṛtāḥ 1
sarve dharmāḥ samābhinnā ajam sāmyaṁ viśāradaṁ 11

17

- a C svapnaviṣayān
T¹ svapnānubhavaviṣayaṁ
T² svapne 'nubhūyamānaṁ
b C prabuddho na paśyati
T¹ „
T² pratyavekṣako na paśyati
c C jñānī mohanidrāprabuddhaḥ
T¹ mohāndhakāraprabuddhaḥ
T² mohāndhakārodbuddhasya
d C na paśyati saṁsāram
T¹ saṁsāraṁ naiva paśyati
T² saṁsārā nopalabhyante

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a ; C b, T¹ b, T² b ; C c, T¹ c, T² c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

a C a ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C b ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C c ; T¹ c ; T² c.
d C d ; T¹ d ; T² d.

There is complete agreement of all the versions. Yamaguchi is quite right in suggesting that in T²b one should read *rtogs* for *rtog*, and *min* for *yin* found in both the editions, P and N.

18

- a C teṣu dharmeṣu dharmatāyāṁ
T² māyānirmitaṁ māyā dṛśyate.
b C tattvānveṣiṇā kiñcid api dharmo nopalabhyate
T² yadā saṁskṛtaṁ tadā
c C yathā loke māyācāryo māyāvastu karoti

T² kiñcid api bhavo nāsti
 d C jñāninā tathā jñātavyam
 T² dharmāṇām saiva dharmatā

Comparison.

C a, T² d ; C b, T² c ; C c, T² a ; C d and T² b differ from each other.

Restoration.

a T²a ; Cc. b Cb (last part) ; T²b. c Cb ; T²c. d T²d ; Ca.

In T²a māyā- in māyānirmīla (*rgyu.mas.sprul.pa*) may be explained as māyākāra agreeing with C māyācārya (*huan shih*). On *nirmīla* see Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakakārikā*, XVII. 31, 32.

dharmāṇām dharmatā is 'the real state or nature of a thing' or 'element of the elements' as translates Stcherbatsky. *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 364 : dharmatā dharmasvabhāvo dharmaprakṛtiḥ. It is variously described ; see Stcherbatsky : *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇ*, 1927, p. 47.

In T²b-c, *yadā° nāsti* briefly means that whatever is *saṃskṛta* 'compound' is *pratītyasamutpāna* and therefore *śūnya*. See *Madhyamakakārikā*, VII, specially 33 :

utpādashitibhāṅganām asiddher nāsti saṃskṛtam 1

18a

For this kārikā see kārikā 21.

19

- a C idam sarvaṃ cittamātram
 T¹ ,,
 T² ,,
 b C sthāpyate māyānirmāṇalakṣaṇam
 T¹ māyāvad jāyate
 T² māyāvad avatiṣṭhate
 c C kriyate kuśalam akusalam karma
 T¹ tataḥ kuśalam akusalam ca karma
 T² kuśalair akusalais ca karmabhiḥ
 d C bhujyate kuśalākusalā jātiḥ
 T¹ tato jātir uttamādhama ca
 T² tata uttamā adhamas ca jātayaḥ

Comparison.

Ca, T¹a, T²a ; Cb, T¹b, T²b ; Cc, T¹c, T²cH Cd, T¹d, T²d.

Restoration.

a Ca ; T¹a ; Ta. b Cb ; T¹b ; T²b. c Cc ; T¹c ; T²c.
d Cd ; T¹d ; T²d.

In Cb I take *an* and *li* meaning 'to lay down' and 'to stand' respectively in the sense of Skt. *stihāpanā* 'causing to stand.' In Cd *kan* 'to be effected,' 'to be moved' may be taken to mean Skt. *√ bhuj* 'to suffer,' 'to experience,' 'to undergo.'

In T²d I should like to read *de.las* for *de.yis* found in P as well as in N.

On the point that the world is nothing but *citta* as held by Yogācāras the reader may be referred, among many others, to the following: Vasubandhu's *Vimśatikārikā* 1 ; *cittamātram bho jina-putra yad uta traidhātukam*, quoted in its *vṛtti* (Lévi, p. 3) ; *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, Rahder, p. 49 ; *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, Bendall, p. 19 ; *Laṅkāvatāra*, Nanjio, III. 51-53, p. 164 ; X. 153-154, p. 285 ; p. 169 ; III. 66, 78, pp. 180, 186. Cf. *Gauḍapādakārikā*, III, 31 ; IV 47, 61, 72.

20

- a C cittacakre niruddhe
T¹ „
T² cittacakranirodhena
b C tadā sarve dharmā niruddhāḥ
T¹ sarva eva dharmā niruddhāḥ
T² sarve dharmā nirudhyante
c C ete dharmā anātmānaḥ
T¹ tata eva dharmā anātmānaḥ
T² tasmād dharmā anātmānaḥ
d C sarve dharmā viśuddhāḥ
T¹ tata eva dharmā viśuddhāḥ
T² tena dharmā viśuddhāḥ

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a, T²a ; C b, T¹ b, T² b ; C c, T¹ c, T² c ; C d,
T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

a C a ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C b ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C c ; T¹ c ; T² c.
d Cd ; T¹ d ; T d.

In T¹c and d, *de.ñid* literally means *tattva* or *tad eva*, but it is to be taken here for *de.ñid.phyir*, *tata eva*, or *tenaiva* (*phyir* being understood in the Tib. text), and it is evident from *de.phyir* and *des.na* in T²c and d respectively.

21

Here while T² has only one kārīkā No. 21, T¹ and C have two kārīkās each, Nos. 16-17 and 18-19 respectively. Their difference is as below :

- a C 18 mohāndhakārāvṛtāḥ
C 19 yadi vikalpyate jātīmān
T¹ 16 bhāveṣu niḥsvabhāveṣu
T¹ 17 jātīḥ svayaṁ na jātā
T² bhāve svabhāve vā
- b C 18 patanti saṁsārasāgare
C 19 satto na yathāyuktaḥ
T¹ 16 nityātmasukhasaṁjñayā
T¹ 17 jātir lokair vikalpitā
T² nityaṁ sukhasaṁjñā
- c C 18 ajātaṁ manyate jātaṁ
C 19 saṁsāradharme
T¹ 16 rāgamohatamaśchannasya
T¹ 17 vikalpāḥ sattāś ca
T² mohāndhakarāvaraṇena
- d C 18 utpādayanti loka vikalpam
C 19 utpādayate nityātmasukhasaṁjñā
T¹ 16 bhavābdir ayam udbhūtaḥ
T¹ 17 ubhayam etan na yujyate
T² bālaḥ saṁsārasāgare bhramati

Comparison.

C 18 a, T¹ 16 c, T² c ; C 18 b, T¹ 16 d, T² d ; C 18 c, T¹ 17 a (cf. C 19 a) ; C 18 d, T¹ 17 b ; C 19 b, T¹ 17 c-d ; C 19 c, T¹ 16 a, T² a ; C 19 d, T¹ 16 b, T² b.

C 18 a-b, T¹ 16 c-d, T² c-d ; C 19 c-d, T¹ 16 a-b, T² a-b ; C 18 c-d, T¹ 17 a-b.

Restoration.

a-b C19 c-d ; T¹16 a-b ; T² a-b. c-d C18 a-b ; T¹16 c-d ; T² c-d.

Strictly speaking the restoration is entirely from T¹16. T¹17 may be translated as *jātimān na svayam jātaḥ*¹ given as No. 18a in the body.

In C19a, *yu shég* 'one having birth (*jātir*),' '*jātimān*' is the same as 'jīva.' See Rosenberg, *Op. Cit.*, p. 244. Accordingly in T¹17a, I think, one should read *skye.bo* '*jana*,' or *skyes.bu* '*puruṣa*' for *skye ba* in both N and P. In the same line read *skyes* with N for *skye* before *rnams* in P as printed in Yamaguchi's edition. In b, *sesm* is evidently a misprint for which read *sems* as in N.

22

- a C saṃsārācakraparivartanamahāsāgare
T¹ o
T² kalpanānadīpūrṇasya
b C sattvaḥ kleśasalilasampūrṇe
T¹ mahāyānam anāśritaḥ
T² saṃsāramahāsāgarasya
c C yadi nohyate mahāyānena
T¹ saṃsāramahāsāgarasya
T² mahāyānanāvam anārūḍhaḥ
d C niścayena katham prāpnuyāt tatpāram
T¹ pāram uttīrṇo na bhaviṣyati
T² kaḥ pāram gamiṣyati

Comparison.

C a, T¹ c, T² b ; C b, T² a ; C c, T¹ b, T² c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

a Cb ; T²a. b Ca ; T¹c ; T²b. c Cc ; T¹b ; T²c. d Cd ; T¹d ; T²d.

T¹a is missing in both P and N. In T² one may read *chu.yis* for *chu.bos* agreeing with C b. It has already been said in the Introduction §5 that this *kārikā* is in fact identical with the *Jñāśiddhi*, XI. 8, dealing with the Vajrayāna system.

¹ See below. Cf. *sattvāḥ* in c. In accordance with the actual reading as found in the xylograph this line should be translated as
jātir naiva svayam jāta.

23

- a C buddhena vistaraśo lokadharmo deśitaḥ
T² avidyāpratyutpannam idam
b C jñeyam idam avidyāpratyayotpannam
T² samyag lokavidaḥ paścāt
c C yadi vikalpacittam anutpādayitum śakyate
T² eṣāṁ vikalpānām
d C sarve sattvāḥ katham jātāḥ
T² kuta udbhavo bhavet

Comparison.

a T²a. b T²b. c T²c. d T²d.

Restoration.

a T²a. b. T²b. c. T²c. d. T²d.

There is no T¹.

In Tb *phyir* (*paścāt*) 'after' means 'after the truth of the world is perfectly known.' This is omitted in the restoration.

The Colophon.

C Mahāyānakārikāvimśakaśāstram mahā-Nāgārjuna-kṛtaṁ Saṅ-
kālikena Bhārtīyena traipitakena Dānapālena parivartitam.

T¹ Mahāyānavimśakam ācāryārya-Nāgārjuna-kṛtaṁ sampūrṇam.
Kāśmīrakeṇa paṇḍitena Ānandena parivartakena bhikṣuṇā Kīrttibhūti-
prajñena ca parivartitam.

T² Mahāyānavimśakam ācārya-Nāgārjunapāda-kṛtaṁ sampūrṇam.
Bhārtīyena paṇḍitena Candrakumāreṇa bhikṣuṇā Sākyaprabheṇa ca
parivartitam.

(Mss. received March, 1930.)

SCHOOLS AND SECTS IN JAINA LITERATURE

By AMULYA CHANDRA SEN.

PART II.

Classification into Four Great Schools.

The account of philosophical schools mentioned in the Jaina canonical literature has been dealt with exhaustively above but the most important part of the work yet remains unfinished, *viz.*, their classification according to a method well-known in this literature.

The heretical creeds of the time were all comprehended by Mahāvīra under four heads¹⁰⁰, *viz.*

1. Kriyāvāda.
2. Akriyāvāda.
3. Ajñānavāda.
4. Vinayavāda.

These four great schools comprise three hundred and sixty-three schools¹⁰¹: Kriyāvāda consists of one hundred and eighty schools, Akriyāvāda consists of eighty-four schools, Ajñānavāda consists of sixty-seven schools, and Vinayavāda consists of thirty-two schools¹⁰².

The scheme of classification in details is as follows:

1. Kriyāvāda.

Kriyā denotes the existence of *jīva*, etc., and those who admit the existence of *jīva*, etc., are called *Kriyāvādins*.

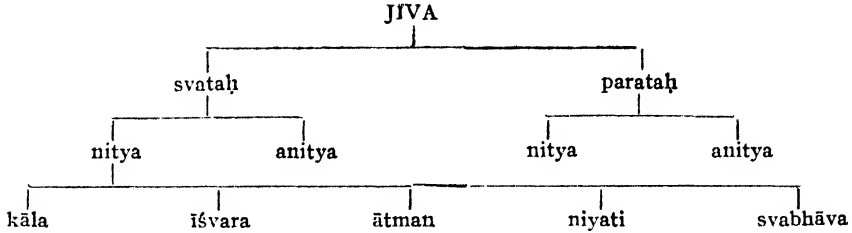
The Jains have the "nine principles" of *jīva* soul, *ajīva* non-soul, *āsrava* the inflow of karmic matter into the soul, *bandha* the consequent bondage of the soul, *saṃvara* stoppage of the inflow, *nirjarā* shedding off

¹⁰⁰ Sūt. S. I.xii.1; Sth. S. 4.4.345; Bhag. S. 30.1.824; Utt. S. 18.23; Nandi 47; and Sūt. S. II.ii.79.

¹⁰¹ Sūt. S. II.ii.79.

¹⁰² Nandi 47: Guṇaratna quotes the following couplet—
Asiisayam kiriyānam akiriyavāṇa hoi culasī l
Annāṇia sattaṭṭhī veṇaiyānam ca battisam ll

the karmic matter, *puṇya* merit, *apūṇya* demerit, and *mokṣa* emancipation. Let us take the first, *jīva* and draw a table as below :



Those who admit the existence of the soul (*jīva*) by itself (*svataḥ*), for all eternity (*nitya*), through Time (*kāla*) are the first school. They say that the soul exists in its own nature, it is eternal, and acts through Time. They are called *Kālavādins*. Guṇaratna quotes the following as stating their doctrine :

na kālavyatirekeṇa garbhabālaśubhādikam ।
yat kiñcij jāyate loka tadasau kāraṇam kila ॥
kim ca kālād ṛte naiva mūḍgapaktirapīkṣyate ।
sthālyādisannidhāne'pi tataḥ kālādasau matā ॥
kālabhāve ca garbhādi sarvaṁ syād avyavasthayā ।
pareṣṭahetusadbhāvamātrād eva tadudbhavāt ॥
kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni kālaḥ saṁharate prajāḥ ।
kālaḥ supteṣu jāgarti kālo hi duratikramaḥ ॥

The blossoming of trees and plants, the appearance of fruits, the change of seasons, the movement of stars and planets, the periods of gestation, infancy, adolescence, youth, old age, etc., could not have taken place if there were no Time. In the absence of Time everything would be in disorder, but such disorder we neither find nor desire. Cooking, for instance, depends not on the bringing together of fire, pan and other materials, but on Time. It is not at the sweet will of man that causes happen, but according to the order of Time and we cannot dispense with it.

Those who say that the soul exists in itself eternally through *īśvara* (God) are the second school called *Īśvaravādins*. They regard the universe as made by God who is endowed with the attributes of perfection and is the ordainer of heaven or hell for men.

Those who say that the soul exists by itself eternally through *ātman* (Self) are the third school called *Ātmavādins*. According to them the Self creates everything.

Those who say that the soul exists in itself eternally through *niyati* ('the fixed order of thing') are the fourth school called *Niyativādins*. According to them there is a principle called *niyati* by which all that exist assume their form in a prescribed manner, and not otherwise. Whatever comes out of something at one time always comes out of that thing in a regular manner, as otherwise the law of cause and effect and the law of uniformity of nature would not be in operation, for there would be nothing to determine the order of events (*anyathā kāryyakāraṇavyavasthā pratiniyatarūpavyavasthā ca na bhavet niyāmakābhāvāt*).

Those who say that the soul exists by itself eternally through *svabhāva* (Nature) are the fifth school called *Svabhāvavādins*. They hold that everything is caused by Nature, *e.g.*, the clay becomes a jar and not a piece of cloth, a piece of cloth comes from yarn, while a jar does not do so. The uniform production of jars from clay shows the order of Nature. Guṇaratna quotes the following as illustrating the doctrine of *Svabhāvavādins*:

kaḥ kaṇṭakānām prakaroti taikṣṇyam |
 vicitrabhāvaṁ mṛgapakṣiṇām ca ||
 svabhāvataḥ sarvamidam pravṛttam |
 na kāmācāro 'sti kutaḥ prayatnaḥ ||
 badaryāḥ kaṇṭakas tīkṣṇa ṛjor ekaśca kuñcitaḥ |
 phalam ca vartulam tasya vada kena vinirmitam ||

'What causes thorns to have sharp points and birds and beasts to have their own wonderful ways? All this is ordained by Nature and there is no caprice anywhere. Of the jujube tree the thorns are sharp-pointed, some straight, some bent, the fruit is round—by whom are all these made?'

Even the simple phenomenon of the cooking of the *mudga* also depends on Nature. The *kankaduka mudga*, for instance, cannot be cooked even after the combination of a pan, fuel and Time, for by nature it is a kind of cereal that is not softened by boiling. Therefore that in the presence of which effects follow and in the absence of which effects do not follow is to be regarded as the cause.

We have thus obtained five schools under *asti jīvaḥ svataḥ "nityaḥ."* Under *asti jīvaḥ svataḥ "antiyaḥ"* we shall have another five schools accordingly as the non-eternity is predicated of *kāla*, etc. Then under the head *asti jīvaḥ parataḥ "anityaḥ"* we shall have another five schools according as "not of itself" is predicated of *kāla*, etc. The five classes of *kāla*, etc.,

are to be supplied under both *nitya* and *anitya* varieties of *svataḥ* and *parataḥ*. The *parataḥ* schools mean that the existence of *jīva* is admitted not of itself but as it is distinguished from other objects, for it is well-known how things are known by contrast with other things just as shortness is known as that which is not long, and in the same way the soul is known by distinguishing it from such objects as pillars, etc. The *anitya* varieties of *parataḥ* would give us yet another set of five schools. So we have twenty schools on *jīva*, the first of the "nine principles" and by extending the same classification to each of the eight other "principles" we have altogether nine times twenty or one hundred and eighty schools comprised in *Kriyāvāda*.

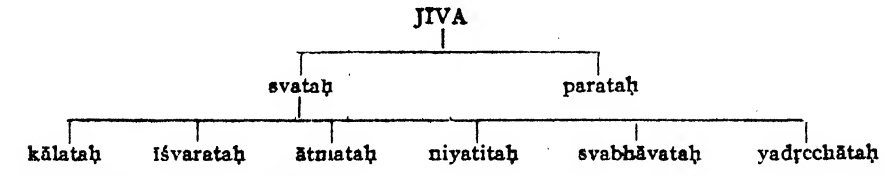
To *kriyāvādins* have been ascribed the views that unless a sinful thought is translated into action or a sinful act performed with a sinful motive the full karmic consequences will not follow and such acts will affect the soul but slightly¹⁰³, and that misery is produced by one's own works and not by the work of somebody else, *viz.*, fate, creator, etc.¹⁰⁴

The meaning is that the state of mind and conduct must combine to constitute sin for any one of them without the other would not give rise to the consequences of a sinful *karman*. *Śilānka* points out that they hold that action alone leads to liberation even though it be unaccompanied by right knowledge and right faith.

2. AKRIYAVADA.

The *Akriyāvādins* deny the existence of the soul, etc., for according to them everything is of a momentary existence and a state comes to an end the moment it comes into existence, and therefore, it cannot have any *kriyā*. Without continuity of existence no *kriyā* is possible, the existence itself is the cause and effect of it.

The *Akriyāvādins* are of eighty-four varieties obtained in the manner shown below. Let us take seven of the "nine principles" leaving out *puṇya* and *apuṇya*. Of these seven let us take the first, *jīva*, and draw a table thus :



¹⁰³ Sūt. S. I.i.2.25-28,

¹⁰⁴ Sūt. S. I.xii.11,

The divisions of *nitya* and *anitya*, as in the *Kriyāvāda* table, are not necessary here as the question of eternity and non-eternity does not arise when the existence itself of soul, etc., is denied. *Yadṛcchā* is put last because all *Akriyāvādins* are *Yadṛcchāvādins*. The same six divisions from *kāla* to *yadṛcchā* are also to be considered under *ṣarataḥ* as under *svataḥ*.

Those who say that no soul exists in itself through Time are the first school. According to them the existence of objects is established from their signs or effects and there are no such signs or effects from which the existence of the soul can be established. The same argument is applied in denying the existence of the soul through *īśvara*, *ātman*, *niyati* and *svabhāva* as in regard to *kāla*. *Yadṛcchā* means obtainment of results without any determining cause. The *Yadṛcchāvādins* see no uniformity of causal relation in the world. *śāluka* 'the root of a particular kind of water-lily' comes of a *śāluka* as well as of cowdung ; fire comes of fire as well as of *araṇi* 'a piece of wood' ; smoke comes of smoke as well as of a combination of fire and fuel ; *kandalī* 'a particular kind of plant with white flowers appearing very plentifully in the rainy season' comes of *kanda* 'bulbous root' as well as of seeds ; the *Vaṭa* tree comes of seeds as well as of a section of a branch, and wheat comes of wheat-seeds as well as of bamboo-seeds. So there is plurality and not uniformity in causal relations and everything comes into existence accidentally (*yadṛcchātāḥ*) as in a freak. Guṇaratna quotes the following as illustrating the views of *Akriyāvādins* :

atarkitopasthitameva sarvaṃ
citram janānāṃ sukhaduḥkha-jātam |
kākasya tālena yathābhīghāto
na buddhipurvo 'sti vṛthābhimānaḥ ||

All this has come into existence by accident—the various joys and sorrows of men ; all this is like the striking a crow by a palm-fruit, which is not preceded by design. It is useless to think (that the origination of things is preceded by design).

Thus under *nāsti jīvaḥ* "*svataḥ*" we have obtained six schools and under *nāsti jīvaḥ* "*ṣarataḥ*" we shall have a set of another six schools. Therefore there are obtained twelve schools under the first of seven "principles" and by extending the same classification to each of the other six "principles" we have altogether seven times twelve or eighty-four schools comprised in *Akriyāvāda*.

Another classification of *Akriyāvādins* divides them into eight classes¹⁰⁵, viz.

Ekavādins who believe in one supreme soul as the first cause.

Anekavādins who believe in one supreme principle manifesting itself in several principles.

Mitavādins who gave a fixed size to the soul.

Nirmitavādins who regard the universe as created by God.

*Sātavādins*¹⁰⁶ who believe in obtaining mokṣa by living a comfortable life.

Samucchadavādins who believe in the constant destructibility of things.

Nityavādins who believe in the eternity of things.

And *Na-santi-para-lokavādiṇṣ* who do not believe in a future life or soul, etc.

It will appear from the above classification that all possible non-Jaina creeds have been comprised under those eight classes of *Akriyāvāda*, the scope of which is certainly wider than in the previous classification into eighty-four classes.

The *Akriyāvādins* are mentioned in the texts as not admitting that the action of the soul is transmitted to future moments¹⁰⁷, and as holding that nothing exists and all forecasts of the future are false¹⁰⁸.

3. AJNANAVADA.

The *Ajñānavādins* deny the necessity or importance of knowledge. According to them knowledge is not the highest thing for where there is knowledge there is assertion of contradictory statements by different disputants resulting in dissensions which soil the mind and bring on a longer period of wordly bondage. But if *ajñāna* or negation of knowledge is upheld it generates no pride and there is no ill-feeling towards others and therefore the chances of wordly bondage are removed. The result of volition is *karman* and the result of *karman* is bondage which is of dire consequences and has to be suffered from, it having been produced by resolute and determined volitional activity. But that *karman* which results from the activity of mere body and speech unprompted by mental

¹⁰⁵ Sth. S. 8.3.607.

¹⁰⁶ See notes 90-93 and 110.

¹⁰⁷ Sū. S. I.xii.4.

¹⁰⁸ Sū. S. I.xii.10.

action is not volitional and therefore is not productive of severe suffering nor does it entail dire consequences. Such unvolitional effects of *karman* are swept off easily by good activities like the easy blowing off by the wind of dust particles adhering to a very dry and white wall.

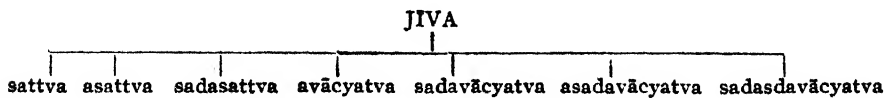
The absence of volition of mind is generated by the force of *ajñāna* for where there is knowledge there is volition. Therefore one desiring *mokṣa* should adopt *ajñāna* and not knowledge to lead him along the path of perfection.

Supposing for argument's sake that knowledge is necessary, how is one to know for certain what is knowledge? It cannot be known. All philosophers differ in their idea of knowledge. We cannot say which of them spoke the truth. The followers of Mahāvīra may say that he obtained omniscient knowledge and therefore the knowledge that proceeds from him is right knowledge. But how is one to know in the absence of any evidence to prove it that Mahāvīra alone obtained omniscient knowledge and no one else? The story of the gods coming down from heaven to worship Mahāvīra and thus testifying to his omniscient knowledge is not to be trusted for there is no evidence to prove that it really so happened. Traditional evidence is also untrustworthy because it cannot be definitely known whether such tradition was set on foot by an imposter or a worthy man. What has not been proved cannot be believed. The phenomenon of the coming down of gods from heaven is shown by magicians also and in itself is not enough to prove the omniscience of anyone.

Granting even, say the *Ajñānavādins*, that Mahāvīra was omniscient how do we know that the Nirgrantha scriptures are really his teachings and not circulated by knaves? How again are we to know if Mahāvīra used the words in the scriptures in the same sense as they are taken now? How do we know what his real intention was?

Therefore it is established that owing to its being the cause of longer bondage in the world and owing to want of definite certainty, knowledge is not the highest thing but *ajñāna* is the highest thing.

There are sixty-seven schools under Ajñānavāda obtained in the following manner. Let us take the first of the nine "principles" and draw a table as below :



Here *sattva* means existence in its own form. *Asattva* means non-existence in other forms. *Sadasattva* means simultaneous existence in its own form and non-existence in other forms. When such existence and non-existence are to be expressed at one and the same time in one word it becomes indescribable, there being no such word and therefore it is said to be *avācyatva* 'indescribability.' When from one point of view it is existent and from another it is indescribable and the two are to be simultaneously expressed it is called *sadavācyatva*. When from one point of view it is non-existent and from another it is indescribable and the two aspects are to be simultaneously expressed it is called *asadavācyatva*. When from one point of view it is existent, from another it is non-existent and from yet another indescribable, and all these aspects are to be simultaneously expressed it is called *sadasadavācyatva*. Thus we have these seven schools under the first "principle" and extending the same classification to each of the other eight "principles" we have nine times seven, i.e., sixty-three schools. These refer to the nature of the nine "principles" severally, but as for their origin in general four other schools are possible, viz., *sattva*, *asattva*, *sadasattva*, and *avācyatva*—the other three forms of the seven possible variations are not used in this case as they are used only in respect of the several parts of a thing only after its origin has taken place which is not the case here. The last four added to the previous sixty-three give us sixty-seven schools under *Ajñānavāda*.

The first school on *jīva*, for instance, says "Who knows if there is *jīva*? No one does, because there is no evidence to prove its existence. What again is the use of knowing it? If it is known it will give rise to volition which will stand in the way of attaining to the next world (*jñātasyābhiniveśahetulayā paralokaḥpratiṣṭhivāt*). In the same way are to be described the other varieties of *asattva*, etc., as also their origin in general.

It is obvious that although the *Ajñānavādins* say they have no need of knowledge and that it is unnecessary, they happen yet to be the employers of the acutest arguments.

4. VINAYAVADA.

The *Vinayavādins* or *Vainayikas* do not accept signs, external rules of ceremony, and scriptures but uphold the supremacy of reverence as the cardinal virtue leading to perfection. There are thirty-two schools of *Vinayavāda* obtained in this way. Reverence may be shown to eight

classes of beings, *viz.*, god or master, ascetic, man, aged persons, inferiors, mother and father, and to each of these eight classes of persons reverence may be shown in four ways, *i.e.*, by body, mind, speech and gifts. There are thus four times eight or thirty-two schools of *Vinayavāda*.

The three hundred and sixty-three philosophical schools of Jaina literature are thus obtained by totalling one hundred and eighty schools of *Kriyāvāda*, eighty-four schools of *Akriyāvāda*, sixty-seven schools of *Ajñānavāda* and thirty-two schools of *Vinayavāda*¹⁰⁰. The commentators Śīlāṅka, Abhayadeva and Malayagiri as well as Hemacandra accept this classification as a standard.

Buddhist Classification of Contemporary Schools.

It is of interest to compare in this connection Buddha's classification given in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* in the *Dīgha Nikāya* of contemporary philosophical thought into sixty-two schools, *viz.*

The four schools of Eternalists or *Sassatavādas*. They held that the soul and the world are both eternal. The first three schools held this view as a result of their having perceived through a recollection of the memories of past lives that the soul and the body have always been in existence, and the fourth school held this view not as a result of memory but on logical grounds.

The four schools of Semi-Eternalists or *Ekacca-Sassatikā*. The first school believed that Brahmā was eternal but not individual souls, having come to this conclusion through partial remembrance of past states of existence in higher worlds. The second school believed that debauched souls are not eternal but that undebauched souls are eternal. The third school believed exactly the same thing as the second school except that in the case of the former the debauchery of the gods is mental unlike the debauchery of the gods of the latter school which is physical. The fourth school held that the soul was eternal but not the body.

The four schools of Extensionists or *Antānantikas*. The first school held that the world was finite, the second that it was infinite, the third that it was infinite sidewise but finite upward and downward, and the fourth that it was neither finite nor infinite.

The four schools of Eel-wrigglers or *Amarāvikkheṇikas*. They did not give categorical replies to any question but avoided them by ambiguous

¹⁰⁰ *Tarkarahasyadīpikā*, a commentary by Guṇaratna on the *Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya* of Haribhadra, B. I., p. 19.

and equivocating replies, and differed only in respect of the motives for giving such replies.

The two schools of Fortuitous-Originists or *Adhiccasaṃuppannikas*. They held that the soul and the world came into being without a cause, having come to this conclusion as a result of remembrance of past lives in the case of the first, and as a result of logical reasoning in the case of the second.

The thirty-two schools of Conscious-maintainers or *Uddhamāghatanikas*. They believed that the soul after death passed into various states of existence, viz., conscious or unconscious, subject to decay or not subject to decay, neither conscious nor unconscious, and all in respect of the form, finitude, different modes of consciousness, and happiness of the soul.

The seven schools of Annihilationists or *Ucchedavādis*. They held that the soul is annihilated after death and they identified the soul with the body, essence of the body, mind, infinite space, infinite consciousness, or as being bondless or being beyond ideas.

The five schools of Nirvanists or *Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavādas*. They believed that a soul was capable of obtaining complete emancipation in this visible world by full enjoyment of the pleasures of the senses¹¹⁰ or by each of the four stages of *dhyāna*.

PART III.

1. RELIGIOUS SECTS.

Besides philosophical schools the literature of the Jainas has interesting information regarding various kinds of religious sects.

A sect believed abstention from salt or garlic, onion, young camel's milk, beef, and liquors as the path of perfection¹¹¹.

A sect believed in the use of cold water for bath and ablutions as the path of perfection¹¹².

Some ascetics believed that by tending a fire they would reach perfection¹¹³.

Haṭṭhi-tāvasas. They used to kill an elephant with arrows and lived many months on its flesh. The motive was to spare the lives of other animals for as long as the flesh of the elephant would last. They claimed

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Sātavādins supra*. notes 90—98, 106.

¹¹¹ *Sūt. S. I.vii.12.*

¹¹² *Sūt. S. I.vii.12.*

¹¹³ *Sūt. S. I.vii.12.*

that they committed but one sin, the killing of the elephant, in a year or so which was counterbalanced by the merit earned by not killing other lives during this time¹¹⁴.

Bāla-tāvasas. They lived only by eating leaves that fell off naturally from trees¹¹⁵.

Kandaṇḍīyas. They earned a living by performing antics and making people laugh by making various movements with the eyebrows, mouth, teeth, lips, hands, feet, and ears. They made others laugh but did not laugh themselves¹¹⁶.

Caragas. They went about begging and carried a *dhāṭi*¹¹⁷. They went out to beg only after meal¹¹⁸, says Hemacandra in his commentary on the *Anuyogadvāra*.

The names of the following sects are mentioned in long lists of ascetical orders in several places¹¹⁹.

Kibbisīyas. They went about speaking ill of religious teachers and holy people.

Tericchīyas. They dwelt in places unfrequented by cows, horses and other animals.

Abhiogias. They earned a living by gaining the confidence of people by administering auspicious baths, exorcising evil spirits and interpreting dreams. The *Brahmajāla Sutta* of the Buddhists also mention these as the ways by practising which many mendicants earned their living.

Hottīyas. They performed *agnihotras*.

Pottīyas. They put on a special kind of clothes.

Kottīyas. They slept on the bare ground.

Jaṇṇais. They performed *yajñas*.

Thālais. They carried all their belongings with them.

Humvauṭṭas. They carried a water vessel with them¹²⁰.

Dantukkhalīyas. They lived on fruits and used their teeth as mortar.

Ummajjagas. They bathed by taking only a dip.

Sammajjagas. They bathed without dipping in water.

Nimajjagas. They remained in water only for a short time.

¹¹⁴ Bhag. S. 11.9.418; Aup. 38; Sūt. S. II.vi.52.

¹¹⁵ Bhag. S. 1.2.25.

¹¹⁶ Bhag. 1.2.25; Aup. 38.

¹¹⁷ This is the explanation of Abhayadeva; the word however seems to be *ghaṭṭi* a begging-bowl.

¹¹⁸ Bhag. 1.2.25; Anuyog. 20 and 26.

¹¹⁹ Bhag. 1.2.25 and 11.9.418; Aup. 38 and 41; Anu. 20 and 26.

¹²⁰ Cf. *Cullavagga* 5.10.1.

Sampakkhālas. They rubbed and cleansed their limbs with mud.
Uḍḍhakaṇḍūyagas. They never scratched the lower parts of the body.
Ahokaṇḍūyagas. They never scratched the upper parts of the body.
Dāhinakūlagas. They dwelt only on the south bank of the Ganges
Uttarakūlagas. They dwelt only on the north bank of the Ganges.
Samkhadhāmayas. They blew a conch-shell to keep people away.
Kūladhāmayas. They blew a conch-shell on the river bank to keep people away while they took their meal.

Migaluddhakas. They killed animals.
Jalābhiseyakiḍhīnagāyas. They took their meals only after a bath.
Ambuvāsins. They lived in water.
Vāuvāsins. They lived in airy places.
Jalavāsins. They remained submerged in water.
Bilavāsins. They lived in caves.
Velāvāsins. They lived on the sea-coast.
Rukkhamūliyas. They lived under trees.
Ambubhakkhins. They lived by drinking water only.
Vāyabhakkhins. They lived by inhaling air only.
Sevālabhakkhins. They lived by eating moss.
Mūlāhāras. They lived by eating roots only.
Kandāhāras. They lived by eating bulbous roots only.
Pattāhāras. They lived by eating leaves only.
Pupphāhāras. They lived by eating flowers only.
Phalāhāras. They lived by eating fruits only.
Biyāhāras. They lived by eating seeds only.
Tayāhāras. They lived by eating bark only.
Parisaḍḍiyakandāhāras. They lived by eating rotten bulbous roots only.
Parisaḍḍiyamūlāhāras. They lived by eating rotten roots only.
Parisaḍḍiyapupphāhāras. They lived by eating rotten flowers only.
Parisaḍḍiyaphalāhāras. They lived by eating rotten fruits only.
Parisaḍḍiyapattāhāras. They lived by eating rotten leaves only.
Vakkavāsins. They put on a dress of bark.

Disāpokkhins. They sanctified all sides by sprinkling water and then collected fruits and flowers.

Uddaṇḍagas. They went about with a raised staff.

Goamas. They earned a living by making a young bull, painted and decorated, perform tricks of foot-lifting, etc.

Gobbaias. They followed a cow wherever it went, ate grass.

Kukkuiyas. They earned a living by amusing people by making many kinds of grimaces and gestures.

Some sects abstained from milk, curd, butter, oil, treacles, honey, spirits and meat.

Dagaviyas. They took water as the second item in the meal.

Dagataias. They took water as the third item in the meal.

Dagacauṭṭhas. They took water as the fourth item in the meal.

Dagaṇācamas. They took water as the fifth item in the meal.

Dagachauṭṭhas. They took water as the sixth item in the meal.

Dagasattamas. They took water as the seventh item in the meal.

Mohariyas. They went about saying all sorts of incoherent and absurd things also indulging in great garrulity in order to amuse people.

Some sects went about dancing and singing to entertain people.

Bahudayas. They stopped one night in a village, five nights in a town and lived on whatever alms they got.

Kuḍivvayas. They lived in houses and regarded conquering of anger, greed, pride and illusion as their goal.

Cirigas. They put on rags collected from the road-side.

Cammakhaṇḍiyas. They put on a dress of hide.

Paṇḍuraṅgas. They besmeared their body with ashes.

Bhikkhoṇḍas. They would eat nothing except what has been obtained as alms and would not take milk unless it had been milked by another.

Haṁsas. They lived in mountain caves, roads, hermitages, temples and gardens and entered a village only for begging alms.

Paramahaṁsas. They lived on river banks, the confluence of streams and wore discarded clothes and rags.

Besides these there are mentions of mendicants who worshipped Nārāyaṇa ; of eight Brahmanical mendicants named Kaṇha, Karakaṇḍa, Āmbaḍa, Parāsara, Kaṇha, Divāyaṇa Devagutta and Nārāya ; of eight Kṣatriya mendicants named Sīlai, Sasihāra, Naggai, Bhaggai, Videha, Rāyarāya, Rāyarāma and Bala ; of Saṁkhas (*Sāṁkhyas*) Jois (*Yogins*), *Kavilas*, *Bhiuccas* (disciples of Kapila and Bhṛgu) ; of those who practised penances in the sun or surrounded by fire ; of ascetics who practised austerities with an arm uplifted¹²¹ ; of mendicants in Vajjabhūmi who ate rough food and carried a staff with them¹²² ; of the six Disāyāras named

¹²¹ Bhag. 15.543.

¹²² Acar. S.1.8.3.5.

The texts mention only the names of these sects of ascetics but give no other details. The little information which is collected here is from the remarks of commentators. It is apparent that the information supplied by the latter is not full, but nothing more is available.

The sect of Pārśva came to be amalgamated with the Nirgranthas. A discussion once took place between Goyama, the chief disciple of Mahāvira and Udaka, a follower of Pārśva, on whether a movable being is to be called a movable being or beings which are for the time being movable. Udaka went on to argue that one who took the vow of abstention from killing one class of animals abstained in fact from killing all classes of animals, for the same being who was now born in one class may be born in other classes as well, and beings which are outside the class now may come later on into the class. To this Goyama replied at length pointing out its incorrectness on the ground that as the vow of not killing an ascetic is not broken by one who kills a man who used to be an ascetic but is no longer so, in the same way all classes cannot be brought within one class¹²⁴.

There is a very instructive discussion between Goyama, a disciple of Mahāvīra and Kesi, a follower of Pārśva. Two important points which emerge from this discussion are first, that Pārśva omitted the vow of celibacy because he included it in the vow of possessionlessness. The absence of its specific mention however led to corruption which was set right by Mahāvīra's inclusion of celibacy as a distinct vow. Secondly,

¹²⁰ Bhag. 5.9.226.

Pārśva allowed an upper and an under garment to his disciples while Mahāvīra recommended complete nudity, the explanation being that there is really no conflict in this for Pārśva's direction was with the purpose of giving his disciples a characteristic mark to distinguish them from others while Mahāvīra's nudity symbolised that knowledge, faith and right conduct are the true causes of final liberation and not outward marks.¹²⁷

The parents of Mahāvīra were lay disciples of Pārśva, and Mahāvīra was therefore brought up as such and continued in it till after he renounced the world. A man of outstanding personality and gifts as he was he could not be content merely with the knowledge of the law. He wandered about alone and single to realise the truth for himself. We have already noticed his association with Gosāla. His teachings bear testimony to his having associated with other schools. This is an important matter in the proper study of Mahāvīra's religion but full justice cannot be done to this subject here as it is outside the scope of the present enquiry. It will suffice for our present purposes to note that Mahāvīra reverted ultimately to his former sect and effected improvements in it.

III. SCHISMATIC SCHOOLS AMONG THE NIRGRANTHAS.

Although nothing compared with the material contained in the *Kathāvatthu* of the Buddhists regarding various opinions on doctrinal matters among themselves the literature of the Jainas yields some information on schisms within the order of the Nirgranthas.

Jamāli, who was Mahāvīra's sister's son and also married his daughter, was the first man to start the schism. He was a prince and renounced the world in order to be an ascetic follower of Mahāvīra. Once he begged permission of Mahāvīra to go out on a tour with five hundred ascetics, and although permission was asked three times Mahāvīra vouched no reply. Jamāli took the law in his own hand, went away wandering and fell ill on account of having taken bad and improper food. During his illness he asked his companions to spread a bed of dry grass for him and when it was being done he enquired if the bed was ready. His companions said the bed was ready but going up to it he found that it had been only half-ready. Instantly it occurred to him that "a thing is done when it is being done" as taught by Mahāvīra was false. He announced his new idea to his companions some of whom agreed with him. He thereupon declared himself a Kevalin. Jamāli's followers are called Bahurayas because they

¹²⁷ Uttar. S. 23.33.

held that the completion of an act required more than one unit of time. This is the first schism and it arose in Sāvatti.¹²⁸

The second schism was started by Tissagutta at Usabhapura or Rāyagaha. His followers are called *Jivapaesiyas* because they identified the jīva with the space occupied by it.

The third schism was led by Āsāḍha and had its origin in Syetavi. Āsāḍha doubted if gods and saints were really so. His followers are called *Avvattiyas*.

The fourth schism arose in Mithilā and was started by Assamitta. His followers are called *Samuccheiyas* because they held that inasmuch as every thing is subject to destruction after having come into existence, the effects of good or bad deeds are not to be enjoyed or suffered from.

The fifth schism was started by Gaṅga at Ullakātira. His followers held that it is not true that only one feeling can be felt by the mind at one time and are therefore called *Dokiriyas*.

The sixth schism arose in Antarañji and was started by Saḍuluya or Rohagutta. His followers are called *Terāsiyas* because they held that there is a third state of existence besides jīva and ajīva.

The seventh schism was started by Goṭṭhamāhilla at Dasapura. His followers are called *Abaddhiyas* because according to them the jīva is not bound by *karman*.¹²⁹

IV. NIRGRANTHA CRITICISM OF OTHER SCHOOLS.

The Jaina literature contains some criticism specifically directed against the beliefs and practices of some of the contemporary schools. Later commentators have read into many of the passages in the canon criticism of others by implication. These might or might not have been meant in the texts to be criticism against the parties, the commentators take them to be directed against, and are therefore unnecessary to deal with. But the other class wherein we find in a very clear manner the criticism made as also the party it is directed against, is important as it shows from yet another point of view the stand the early Nirgranthas took in contrast with their contemporaries.

The Ājiviyas have been criticised on the ground that they do not understand that things depend partly on fate and partly on human exertion.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Bhag. 9. 33. 383-387.

¹²⁹ Sth. S. 7.3. 587.

¹³⁰ Sū. S. I.i.2.4.

If everything was unalterably fixed, as the Ājiviyas believed, and if there was no *purisakāra* how was it that the gods only were gods and not everybody? A god attained to that status by dint of his exertion, otherwise all would have been gods or none would have been such. From our everyday experience we find that the course of things can be altered by human exertion,¹³¹ our reason dictates exertion which none can deny.

The Vedānta doctrine of the *ātman* being the substratum of all existence is criticised on the ground that if that were true how can the consequences of evil *karman* performed by one result in the suffering of the same individual?¹³² The one *ātman* underlying all would make the consequences sufferable by all of the wrong deeds done by one or by another individual who had nothing to do with the wrong deed. Again, if there were one *ātman* common to all there would be no difference in the lots of individuals or in their castes or station in life, and all would be sharing equally the perfection of the *ātman*.¹³³ The inactivity of the *puruṣa* of the Sāṃkhya would also be open to the same objection of not accounting for the variety we find in the world in the lots of men.¹³⁴

The *Tajjīvataccharīravādins* are criticised as offering no solution to such problems as whether or not an action is good, whether or not there is a life after death or whether perfection is attainable.¹³⁵

The Buddhists are criticised as placing unreasoning faith on the authority of Buddha. They have permission, they say, of doing this or that. Any one familiar with the rules of Vinaya of the Buddhists knows how frequently the necessity arose for Buddha to accord his permission to this act or that on the part of his disciples, and this has been criticised on the ground that Buddha's permission does not justify a wrong act.¹³⁶

Kriyāvādins are criticised on the ground that they put all the emphasis on outward acts which is not correct for a sinful thought even though not carried out into execution is none the less sinful.¹³⁷

Akriyāvādins are criticised for not believing that there is *karman* and its transmission to future moments.¹³⁸

Brāhmaṇs, *Ajñānavādins* and *Vinayavādins* are criticised in general

¹³¹ Upās. 7.200.

¹³² Sūt. S. I.i.1.10.

¹³³ Sūt. S. II.vi.48.

¹³⁴ Sūt. S. I.i.1.14.

¹³⁵ Sūt. S. II.i.17.

¹³⁶ Acār. S. I.i.3.7.

¹³⁷ Sūt. S. I.i.2.29.

¹³⁸ Sūt. S. I.xii.4.

terms and the Jaina emphasis on non-injury, necessity of right thinking, and right knowledge come out prominently from these criticisms.¹³⁹

The *Sūnyavādins* who deny the existence of all visible world and all future are told in answer that as astrologers, dream-interpreters and other kinds of diviners are sometimes able to predict future events it cannot be said that there is no future.¹⁴⁰

Those who believed in perfection to be attained by bath, abstention from some articles of food, or by tending a fire are criticised on the ground that if perfection was attainable by contact with water many fishes, tortoises etc., would easily obtain perfection.¹⁴¹ If water washed off bad *karman* it would also wash off good *karman*, and if it washed off sin many people who killed living beings in water would be sinless.¹⁴² If perfection was attainable by tending a fire many mechanics would easily obtain it.¹⁴³ By drinking liquor or eating meat and garlic people of course attain a state different from their normal state but that state is far from the state of perfection.¹⁴⁴ Clothed in humour though these criticism are yet they reveal a strong common sense on the part of the Nirgrantha critic.

The soil of India has always been very favourable to the growth of religions and philosophies and the information obtained from the literature of the Jainas fully bears testimony to it. It will be seen that the teachings of Mahāvīra whose disciples are yet a living body in the land of their birth, were an attempt on the part of the founder to provide a solution to the intense problems of religion and philosophy which stirred the heart of India in that distant age.

¹³⁹ Acār. S. I.iv.2.4. Sūt. S. I.xii.3; I.i.2.17.

¹⁴⁰ Sūt. S. I.xii.9.

¹⁴¹ Sūt. S. I.vii.14-15.

¹⁴² Sūt. S. I.vii.16-17.

¹⁴³ Sūt. S. I.vii.18.

¹⁴⁴ Sūt. S. I.vii.13.

(Mss. received November, 1929).

NAIRĀTMYAPARIṢCCHĀ

TIBETAN AND SĀNSKRIT TEXTS

By SUJITAKUMARA MUKHOPADHYAYA,

FOREWORD.

The original Sanskrit text of the *Nairātmyapariṣcchā* was supposed to have been lost and just when in January last Mr. Sujitakumara Mukhopadhyaya was going to the press with his restoration in Sanskrit of the treatise from the Tibetan version, the Octo-Decem. number of the *Journal Asiatique* came to his hands, containing a paper (*Encore Aśvaghoṣa*) by Prof. L'évi in which the original text of the *Nairātmya-pariṣcchā* was published (pp. 207-211). A good deal of the value of the restoration of the text by Mr. Mukhopadhyaya has been thus lost, yet it is being published as an illustration of the standards which can be reached in Tibetan studies.

The difference between the original and the restoration is due in many places to the difference between the Sanskrit and the Tibetan versions ; and sometimes to the misunderstanding of the Tibetan translator ; for instance, see verse No. 21. Of course there are cases, where the restorer himself is responsible for wrong renderings.

The restored text, as was originally made, is placed here, without any modification, side by side with the original text, so that they may easily be compared.

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INTRODUCTION.

The following work, the Sanskrit version of which I have here attempted to restore is to be found in the Kanjur, Mdo, XIV, pp. 8-11. Its name is *Nairātmya-paripṛcchā*, that is, questions on the non-existence of the soul. It belongs to the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism, and contains an interesting exposition of the ideas concerning the soul and reality.

This work was translated into Tibetan by two scholars, Kamalagupta and Ratnabhadra (*rin.chen.bzan.po.*). The former was an Indian *upādhyāya* and the latter a Tibetan Sanskrit translator (*lo.tsa.ba*).

It opens abruptly with the word 'then' (*de.nas*) from which we infer that it is possibly a fragment of a larger treatise. It begins with a dialogue in prose between the heretics (*Tīrthikas*) and the Mahāyānists and ends with verses in which the views of the latter are given. From this one can obtain an idea of the Mahāyānic notions about the soul and the universe in general.

About the existence of the soul, the Mahāyānists say: We cannot say that there is a soul, nor can we say there is no soul. If there is a soul, why is it not seen when we examine and analyse the body part by part? Now, if there is no soul, how then are love, affection, kindness, greed, anger, etc., produced?

To a Mahāyānist, there is neither self nor non-self, nor soul, nor spirit, nor mind; neither doer, nor knower; neither wealth, nor son, nor friends; to him there is neither birth nor destruction, nor any consequence of good or bad actions.

This treatise was translated into French by M. Léon Feer in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1883 Vol. 50, pp. 180-186. This translation is, however, not reliable at all. The first portion of the dialogue is translated fairly correctly; but in the rest of the work the translator has committed many mistakes. For example, he has translated *kun.rdzob* as *le vide* (the void). He thinks it is almost like the term *ston.pa* in Tibetan. But in fact, *kun.rdzob* and *ston.pa* are two different terms conveying quite different meanings. The former means *vyāvahārika satya* or empirical truth, while the latter means simply 'void' in the Mahāyānic sense of the term, or 'relativity' according to Stcherbatsky. Throughout the whole translation he has made the same mistake and consequently has interpreted the text wrongly.

For instance, he has translated

kun.rdzob.chos.la. žugs.pa.yi l
sems.can.ñon.mops. dbaṇ.du.'gro l

as

“l'être entré dans la loi du monde
devient supérieur à la souillure.”

‘Beings having entered into the law of the world rise above impurity.’

This expression conveys neither the literal meaning nor the inner sense of the text. As he took *loi du monde* to mean *le vide* he had to translate the second line of the passage quoted above as ‘rise above impurity.’ But can the Tibetan line in any way mean this? The only sense possible here is *sattvaḥ kleśavaśaṃ gataḥ*: Beings are subject to affliction (impurity).

In verse 8, he has translated :

de.bas. don.dam. śes.pa.yis l
kun.rdzob.bden.p'i.gnas.spoṇ.ṇo ll

as

“Aussi celui qui ne connaît pas le sens vrai
rejette le vide, siège de la vérité.”

‘Also he who does not know the true sense rejects the void, the seat of truth.’

I may translate it as

tyajet tat paramāṛthajñāḥ
saṁvṛtisatyaniśrayaṁ l

‘Therefore the knower of *paramārtha* should reject the reliance upon the empirical truth.’

One may easily mark the great difference between these two translations. He has translated *de.bas. don.dam. śes.pa.yis* by ‘one who does not know the true sense.’ But where did he get this negation? Probably he added it to support his translation of *kun.rdzob* as *le vide*.

The third verse also he has translated wrongly. We quote the text and his translation :

kun.rdzob.'jig.rten.chos.rnams.la l
mi.mkhas.pa.dag. rtog.par. byed l
kun.rdzob.rtog.pa. de.yis. ni l
sdug.bsṇal. ñoms.su. moṇ.bar.'gyur ll

“Ceux à qui les lois du monde du vide
sont complètement inconnues peuvent chercher ;
ils ont beau chercher,
la déchéance les atteint et ils savourent la douleur.”

‘Those to whom the laws of the world of the void are completely unknown, may search ; but they search in vain. Decay comes to them and they experience sufferings.’

This is fanciful and full of errors. I may offer here the following translation :

saṃvṛtyā lokadharmān hi
kalpayantyavipaścitaḥ ।
saṃvṛtyā kalpanātaś ca
śocanti kleśahāniṣu ॥

‘Through *saṃvṛti* ignorant people assume the *lokadharma* ; on account of this assumption through *saṃvṛti* they grieve in sufferings and loss.’

One meets with such errors throughout the whole work. However, I must express my thanks to the translator for the help that I have obtained from his work.

POST SCRIPT.

Just when the paper was ready for the press, my attention was drawn to Prof. Lévi's article, *Encore Āsvaghoṣa* in J.A. Oct.-Dec., 1928, in which the original Sanskrit text of the treatise found by him in Nepal was published for the first time. The work has two Chinese versions. The authors of these versions are Je tch'eng and Fa t'ien. The former attributes the original work to Āsvaghoṣa.

It is named differently in these versions. Je tch'eng, whose translation corresponds to that in Tibetan, calls it *Ni k'ien tse wen wou ngo yi king*, i.e. “The sutra of the *Nirgranthaputra* who questions the meanings of Impersonality.”

The text of Fa t'ien begins as a regular sutra thus : “One day when the Buddha was in a big assembly, one of the heretics being doubtful and ignorant in the practices of the Mahāyāna came to him. Bowing his head and joining his hands to pay homage he enquired of the meanings of Impersonality.”

But the text of Je tch'eng begins abruptly. “At that time the sons of the Nirgrantha with heretic views having doubts and uncertainty desired to get an explanation from the follower of the Mahāyāna. They bowed their heads, joined their hands and wanted to know the meanings of

TIBETAN TEXT.

[N.B. In the Tibetan words *ṇ* is for the sound of *ng* in *sing*.

X implies the Xylograph of the Narthang edition in the Visva-bharati library.]

rgya.gar.skad.du 1 ā.rya.nai.rā.tmya.pa.ri.pr.cchā. nā.ma.
ma.hā.yā.na.sū.tra ll

bod.skad.du 1 'phags.pa.bdag.med.pa.dris.pa.
žes.byā.ba. theg.pa.chen.po'i.mdo ll

saṅs.rgyas. daṅ byaṅ.chub.sems.dp'a. thams.cad.la. phyag.'tshal.lo ll

1. de.nas. dmigs.p'i.lta.ba.can. rnam.par.rtog.pa.daṅ.bcas.šin.
rnam. par.dpyod.pa.daṅ.bcas.p'i. mu.stegs.pa. de.dag.rnams. theg.pa.chen.
po'i. naṅ. du. soṅ.ste. 1 že.sa.daṅ.bcas.šin thal.mo. sbyar.nas. bdag.med.-
pa'i. dri.ba.dag. yongs.su.dris.pa. 1 rigs.kyi.bu. thams.cad.mkhyen.pas. ni.
lus.la. bdag. med.do. žes.gsungs.la ll gal.te. lus.la. yaṅ.dag.par.bdag. med.
na. ji.ltar. na. de.las. brtse.ba. daṅ. dgod.pa. daṅ. ṇu.ba. daṅ. rol.ba.
daṅ. khro.ba. daṅ. ṇa.rgyal. daṅ. phrag.dog. daṅ. phra.ma.la.sogs.pa.
kun.tu.'byuṇ.bar.'gyur. ll ci. lus.la. yaṅ.dag.par.ni.¹ bdag. yod. dam.
med.pa.yin. 1 bdag.cag.gi. the.tshom. de.dag. khyod.kyis. bsal.b'i.
rigs.so. ll

2. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa. 1 grogs.po.dag. lus.la.
ni. bdag.yaṅ.dag.par. yod.do. žes. 'am. med.do. žes. gñis.kar. yaṅ. 'dir.
brjod.par. mi.bya.ste 1 yaṅ.dag.par.bdag.² yod.do. žes. brjod.pa. na.
med.do. žes. brjod.pa. ni. log.par. smra.b'o ll gal.te. yod. na. ji.ltar. na.
de. skra. daṅ. sen.mo daṅ. pags.pa. daṅ. mgo.bo. daṅ. sá. daṅ. rus.pa.
daṅ. rkaṅ. daṅ. tshil. daṅ. rgyus.pa. daṅ. mchin.pa. daṅ. rgyu.ma. daṅ.
mid.pa. daṅ. lag.pa. daṅ. rkaṅ.pa. daṅ. yan.lag. daṅ. fiin.lag la.sogs.pa.
lus. thams. cad.kyi. phyi. daṅ. naṅ.du. bcas.pa.la. rnam.par.brtags.na.
bdag.yaṅ.dag.par. mi. snaṅ.ṇo ll

3. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa. 1 lh'i.mig.daṅ.laṅ.pa 'g'a.
žig.gis. mthon.gis. bdag.cag.rnams. ni. ś'i.mig.can.yin.pas. bdag.yaṅ.dag.-
par. ji.ltar. mthon ll

¹ X na.

² X omits it.

4. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l lha'i.mig.dan.lan.pa.-rnams.kyis. kyaṇ mi. mthoṇ.ste l gaṇ.la. kha.dog. med. pa. dan. gzugs. med.pa. dan. dbyibs. med.pa. de. ji.ltar. mthoṇ. bar. 'gyur ll

5. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa. ci. med.pa. yin.nam l

6. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis smras.pa l med.do. žes. brjod.pa. na. yod.do žes. brjod.-pa. ni. log.par. smras. pa'o. ll gal.te.med. na. ji.ltar. 'di. mṇon.sum.du. yod.par. brtse.ba. dan. dgod.pa. dan. ṇu.ba. dan. rol.ba. dan. khro.ba. dan. ṇa.rgyal. dan. phrag.dog. dan. phra.ma. la.sogs.pa. kun.tu. 'byuṇ.bar. 'gyur. ll de.bas.na. med.do. žes.par. yaṇ. mi. ruṇ.ste. l yod.dam. med. ces. yaṇ. 'di. ltar. brjod.par. mi. bya. ste. l ñes.pa. 'di. yod.pas. ni. yod. p'o. žes. 'am. med. p'o. žes. brjod.par. mi. by'o ll

7. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras. pa l 'o.na. 'dir. gaṇ.žig. dmigs.-par. 'gyur ll

8. theg.pa. chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l dmigs.par.gyur.ba. ni. ci.'aṇ. med.do ll

9. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l ci. nam.mkh'a. ltar. stoṇ.pa. ñid. yin.nam ll

10. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l grogs.po.dag. de.bžin. de. nam.mkh'a. ltar. stoṇ.pa. ñid. yin.no ll

11. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l gal.te. de.ltar. yin. na. brtse.ba. dan. dgod.pa. dan. ṇu.ba. dan. rol.ba. dan. khro.ba. dan. ṇa.rgyal. dan. phrag.dog. dan. phra.ma. la.sogs.pa. ji.ltar. blta.bar. bgyi ll

12. theg.pa. chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l sgyu.ma. dan. rmi.lam. dan. mig.'phrul. dan. 'dra.ba.yin.no ll

13. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l sgyu.ma. ni. ji.lta.bu. lags. rmi.lam. dan. mig.'phrul. ni. ji.lta.bu.lags ll

14. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l sgyu.ma. ni. mtshon.-pa.tsam.mo. rmi.lam. ni. so.sor.snaṇ.ba.tsam.ste. gzuṇ.bar. bya.ba. ma.yin. žin. raṇ.bžin.gyis.stoṇ.pa. yod. pa.ma.yin.pa'i.ṇo.bo ñid.do ll mig.'phrul. ni. btsos.ma.tsam.du. dgos.po. l grogs.po.dag. de. de. bžin.du l dṇos.po. ji.sñed.pa. thams.cad. ni. sgyu.ma. dan. rmi.lam. dan. mig.'phrul. dan. 'dra.bar. śes.par.by'o ll

15. gžan.yaṇ. kun.rdzob. dan. don.dam.pa.dag. bstan.par.byaste l de.la. kun.rdzob. ces.byab. ni. gaṇ.la.* 'di. ni. bdag.go. 'di. ni. gžan.no. žes. bya.ba. dan. srog. dan. skyes.bu. dan. gaṇ.zag. dan. byed.pa.po.

* X omits it.

daṇ. tshor.ba.po. daṇ. nor. daṇ. bu. daṇ. chuṇ.ma. daṇ. mdz'a. bśes. daṇ. ñe.du. la.sogs.par. rtog.pa. de. ni. kun.rdzob. ces.by'o l gaṇ.la. bdag med.pa. daṇ. gžan. med.pa. daṇ. srog. med.pa. daṇ. skyes.bu. med.pa. daṇ. gaṇ.zag. med.pa. daṇ. byed.pa.po. med.pa. daṇ. tshor.ba.po. med. pa. daṇ. nor. med.pa. daṇ. bu.med. pa. daṇ. chuṇ.ma. med.pa. daṇ. md'a.bśes. med.pa. daṇ. ñe.du. la. sogs.pa. med.pa. de. ni. don. dam. pa. žes.by'o ll gaṇ.la. rap.bžin.gyis. dpos.po. thams.cad.du. yonś.su.brtaḡs. žiṇ. dge.ba. daṇ. mi.dge.b'i. 'bras. bu. daṇ. skye.ba. daṇ. 'gag.pa. ni kun. rdzob.bo. dge.ba. daṇ. mi. dge.b'i. 'bras.bu.med.pa. daṇ. skye.ba.med.pa. daṇ. 'gag.pa. med.pa. de.bžin.ñid.kyi.ṇo.bo. ñid. de.la. ni. kun.nas.ñon. moṇś.pa. rnam.par.byaṇ.ba. med.de. de. ni. dbu.m'i. chos.rnams. kyi. sgrub.pa. lhur.len.p'o ll de.la 'di.sked. ces. bya.ste l

16. kun.rdzob. daṇ. ni. don.dam. ste l
dbye.ba. gñis.su. yaṇ.dag.bśad l
kun.rdzob. 'jig.rten.pa.yí. chos l
don.dam. 'jig.rten. 'das.pa. 'yo. ll
17. kun.rdzob.chos.la. žugs.pa. 'yi l
sems.can. ñon.moṇś. dbaṇ.du. 'gro l
don.dam. yonś.su.ma.śes.pas l
'khor.bar. yun.riṇ. 'khor.bar. 'gyur ll
18. kun.rdzob. 'jig.rten.chos.rnams.la l
mi.mkhas.pa.dag. rtog.par.byed l
kun.rdzob. rtog.pa. de.yis ni l
sdug. bsṇal. ñams.su. myoṇ.bar. 'gyur ll
19. ji. ltar. so.so'i. skye. ba. yi l
byis. pas. grol. lam. mi. śes.pas l
mi.zad.pa.yi. sdug.bsṇal. dag l
maṇ.po. rjes.su. moṇ.bar. 'gyur ll
20. gaṇ.du. srid.pa. 'gag. 'gyur. b'i l
don.dam. dag. ni. mi. śes.pas l
skye.ba. daṇ. ni. 'gag. 'gyur. žiṇ l
skye.bo.⁴ 'gro. daṇ. 'oṇ.bar. 'gyur ll

21. 'jig.rten. chos.la. gnas.pa. yi l
blun.po. 'khor.lo bžin.du. 'khor l
sdug.bsqał. gnas. bcas. 'khor.ba. 'dir l
yaṇ. daṇ. yaṇ.du. 'khor.bar. 'gyur ll
22. ji.ltar. ŋi.ma. zla.ba. dag l
slar.yaṇ. 'oṇ.žin. 'gro.bar.byed l
de.bžin. srid.par. 'pho.ba. ni⁵ l
slar.yaṇ. 'oṇ.žin. 'go.bar. 'gyur ll
23. 'khor.ba. thams.cad. mi.rtag.siṇ l
mi.brtan. skad.cig.'jig.pa. ŋid l
de.das. don.dam.śes.pa.yis l
kun.rdzob.bden.p'i.gnas. spoṇ.ṇo ll
24. mtho.ris.gnas.nas. lha.rnams. daṇ l
dri.za. lha.mi.rnams. kyaṇ. ni l
kun.la 'pho.bo.yod.gyur.pa l
kun. kyaṇ. kun.rdzob. 'bras.bu. yin ll
25. grub. daṇ. rigs 'dzin. gnod.sbyin. daṇ l
dri.za. daṇ. ni. lto.'phye.rnams l
slar.yaṇ. dmyal.bar. 'gro.'gyur.ba l
kun.kyaṇ. kun. rdzob. 'bras.bu. yin ll
26. gaṇ.žig. brtson.dag. lha.rnams. daṇ l
yon.tan., byuṇ.gnas.la. gnas.gaṇ l
mtho.ris.la* 'pho. ltuṇ.gyur.pa l
thams.cad. kun.rdzob. 'bras.bu.yin ll
27. brgya.byin. 'khor.los.sgyur. ŋid. de l
gaṇ.gis. dam.p'i.gnas. thob.nas l
slar.yaṇ. byol.soṇ. skyes.nas. 'jug l
thams. cad. kun.rdzob. 'bras. bu. yin ll
28. de.bas. mtho.ris. lha.rnams.kyi l
bden.pa. bzaṇ.po. kun.spoṇ.la l
byaṇ.chub.sems. ni. 'od.gsal.ba l
nal.'byor.pas. ni. rtag.tu. bsgom ll

29. dños.po.med.ciñ. dmigs.su.med l
thams.cad.stoñ.pa. gnas.med.pa l
spros.pa.rnams.las. yañdag.'das l
byañ.chub.sems.p'i.' mtshan. ñid. yin ll
30. sra.ḥa.ma.yin. 'jam.pa.min l
dro.ba.ma.yin. grañ.ba.min l
de. ni. reg.min. bzun.byā.min l
byañ.chub.sems.kyi. mtshan. ñid yin ll
31. riñ.po. ma. yin. thup.ba.min l
zlum.po. ma. yin. gru.gsum. min l
phra.ba. ma.yin. sbom.p'añ min l
byañ.chub.sems. kyi. mtshan. ñid. yin ll
32. sgom.pa.rnams.las. rnam.'das. śiñ l
mu.stegs.rnams.kyi. spyod.yul.min l
śes.rab.pha.rol.phyin.sbyor.ba l
byañ.chub.sems.kyi. mtshan. ñid. yin ll
33. dpe.med. bsgom.du.med.pa. dañ l
mthoñ.min. gnas.kyi.mchog.gyur.pa l
rañ.bžin.gyis. ni. rnam.dag.pa l
byañ.chub.sems.kyi. mtshan. ñid. yin ll
34. thams.cad. dbu.ba. lta.bu. ste l
chu.bur. lta.bur. sñiñ.po.med l
rtag.pa.ma.yin. bdag.med. te l
sgyu.ma. mig.rgyu.dag. dañ. mtshuñs ll
35. goñ.bu. bžin.du. bsdu.sgyur.pa l
spros.pa.rnams.kyis. yon.su.gañ l
'dod.chags. že.sdañ. la.sogs. ltar l
de. ni. sku.mtshuñs. 'b'a.žig. yin ll
36. ji.ltar. nañ.na. thig.le. ni l
skad.cig. de.la. mi.mthoñ. ste l
śes.rab.pha.rol.phyin. mthoñ.na l
de.bžin. blo. ni. 'dus.ma.byas ll

37. rtag.tu. dgod. siṅ. rtse.ba.daṅ l
 smra. žiṅ. glu. daṅ. rol.mo. daṅ l
 gži. la.sogs.p'i. bde.ba.rnams l
 de.dag. thams.cad. rmi.lam. mtshuṅs ll
38. lus.can.kun.gyis. 'dus.byas.pa l
 'di. kun. rmi.lam. daṅ. mtshuṅs. la l
 rmi.lam. sems.kyi⁸. kun.rtog. ste l
 sems. kyaṅ. nam.mkh'a. lta.bu. yin ll
39. śes.rab.pha.rol.phyin.p'i.tshul l
 gaṅ.žig. 'di. ni. rtag. sgom. pa l
 dṅos.po. kun.las. rnam.grol.nas l
 go.'phaṅ. mchog. ni. thob.par.'gyur⁹ ll
40. bla.na.med.p'i. byaṅ.chub. gaṅ l
 saṅs.rgyas. kun.gyis rnam.bsgoms.pa l
 bsgoms.daṅ.bcas.pas. 'dzin. na. ni l
 theg.chen.'bras.bu. 'thob.par.'gyur ll

'phags.pa.bdag.med.pa.dris.pa. žes.byā.ba. theg.pa.chen.po'i mdo.
 rdzogs.so ll

rgya.gar.gyi. mkhan.po. ka.ma.la.gup.ta. daṅ. žus.chen.gyi. lo.tsa.
 ba. dge.sloṅ. rin.chen. bzaṅ.poṣ. bsgyur.ciṅ. žus. te.
 gtan.la.phab.bo ll

⁸ X. *kyts.*

⁹ X adds here in the beginning of the verse a superfluous line—gaṅ.žig.tshul.'di. rtag.bsgom.pa. This is quite similer to the second line. Probably it was in the margin, and the scribe added it to the text.

॥ आर्यनैरात्म्यपरिपृच्छा नाम महायानसूत्रम् ॥

* सर्वेभ्यो बुद्धबोधिसत्त्वैभ्यो नमः । *

१ । अथ त आलम्बनदृष्टिकाः सवितर्काः सविचारास्तौर्थिका महायान-
मध्यमागत्य सगौरवमञ्जलिं बद्ध्वा नैरात्म्यपरिपृच्छाः पृच्छन्ति स्म । कुलपुत्र
सर्वज्ञेनोक्तं यत् काये नास्तीति । यदि काये न भूतात्मा कथं तर्हि तत्र
हासशोकक्रोधदर्परतिकारुण्येषांपैशुन्यादयः समुत्पद्यन्ते । किमस्ति काये
भूतात्मा नास्ति वेति युक्तं भवताम्नाकं तेषां संशयानां निराकरणं कर्तुम् ॥

२ । महायानिका आहुः । अस्तरायुष्यन्तः काये भूतात्माति नास्ति वेत्यु-
भयमपौह न वक्तव्यम् । अस्ति भूतात्मेत्युक्तौ नास्तीत्याहुः । तर्ह्युच्यते । यद्यस्ति
कथं केशनखचर्मशिरोमांसास्थिमज्जमेदः स्रायुयुक्तदन्तकण्ठनालपाणिपादाङ्ग-
प्रत्यङ्गादिकस्य सर्वस्य कायस्य बहिरन्तस्य सर्वत्र परौचायामपि नात्मा दृश्यते ॥

३ । तीर्थिका आहुः । दृश्यते एव केनाचिद्व्यवच्छेषा, यद्यं तु चर्मचक्षुषः
कथं भूतात्मानं पश्यामः ॥

४ । महायानिकाः । दिव्यचक्षुषोऽपि न पश्यन्ति । यस्य न वर्णो न रूपं
न चाकारः कथं स दृश्येत ॥

५ । तीर्थिकाः । ननु किं नास्ति ॥

६ । महायानिकाः । नास्तीति वचनेऽस्तीति वचनं विरुद्धमुक्तम् ।
नास्ति चेत् कथमेते प्रत्यक्षतो विद्यमाना हासशोकक्रोधदर्परतिकारुण्येषांपैशुन्या-
दयः समुत्पद्यन्ते । तेन नास्त्येत्यपि न युक्तम् । एवमस्ति वा नास्ति वेति च न
वक्तव्यम् । *एतद्दोषसङ्गावादस्तीति वा नास्तीति वा न वक्तव्यम् ॥*

७ । तीर्थिकाः । अथेह किमालम्बनं भवेत् ॥

८ । महायानिकाः । नेह किमप्यालम्बनं ॥

९ । तीर्थिकाः । ननु किमाकाशवच्छून्यमेव ॥

१०। महायानिकाः । तत्तथैवायुष्मन्तः । आकाशवच्छून्यमेव ॥

११। तीर्थिकाः । यद्येवं कथं हासशोकक्रोधदर्परतिकरणेष्वप्येष्टान्यादयो दृश्यन्ते ॥

१२। महायानिकाः । मायास्वप्नेन्द्रजालवत् ॥

१३। तीर्थिकाः । कोटशी पुनर्माया कीदृशः स्वप्न इन्द्रजालं च ॥

१४। महायानिकाः । माया हि लक्षणमात्रम् । स्वप्नः प्रतिभासमात्र-
मप्याह्लाः प्रकृतिशून्योऽस्तिनास्तिरूपश्च । इन्द्रजालं प्रपञ्चमात्रप्रयोजनम् ।
एवमायुष्मन्तः पदार्थास्तावत् सर्वे मायास्वप्नेन्द्रजालवज् ज्ञातव्याः ॥

१५। अपि च संहतिः परमार्थश्च प्रतिपाद्यते । तत्र संहतिः । यन्नाय-
महमयमपर इति जोवपुरुषपुङ्गलकारकवेदकधनपुत्रमित्रस्त्रीकुटुम्बादिकल्पना सा
संहतिर्नाम । यत्र पुनर्नाहं न परो न जीवो न पुरुषो न पुङ्गलो न कारको न
वेदको न धनं * न पुत्रो न मित्रं न स्त्री न च कुटुम्बादि स परमार्थो नाम ॥
यस्य स्वभावेन सर्वेषु भावेषु परीक्ष्यमाणेषु शुभाशुभफलमुत्पादो, निरोधश्च संहतिः,
शुभाशुभफलाभावोऽनुत्पादोऽनिरोधश्च तथतारूपो, न तस्य संक्षेपव्यवदाने, स एव
माध्यमिकधर्मसिद्धिपरः ॥* तत्रैवमुक्तम्—

१६। संहतिः परमार्थश्च

विभागद्वयमुच्यते ।

संहतिर्लौकिको धर्मः

परमार्थस्त्वलौकिकः ॥ १ ॥

१७। संहतिधर्ममापन्नः

सत्त्वः क्लेशवशं गतः ।

परमार्थापरिज्ञाना-

च्चिरं भ्रमति संसृतौ ॥ २ ॥

१८। संहत्या लोकधर्मान् हि

कल्पयन्त्यविपश्चितः ।

संहत्या कल्पनातश्च

शोचन्ति क्लेशहानिषु ॥ ३ ॥

- १८ । अज्ञानाब्धोद्धमार्गस्य
यथा बालैः पृथग्जनैः ।
अक्षयाण्यनुभूयन्ते
दुःखानि बहुलानि हि ॥ ४ ॥
- २० । अज्ञानात्परमार्थस्य
यतो भवनिरोधनम् ।
जातिं निरोधं चापन्नो
जन आयाति याति च ॥ ५ ॥
- २१ । *लोकधर्मस्थितो* मूढ-
श्चक्रवर्त्परिवर्त्तते ।
सदुःख इह संसार
आवर्त्तते पुनः पुनः ॥ ६ ॥
- २२ । यथा सूर्यश्च चन्द्रश्च
पुनरायाति याति च ।
तथैव भवसञ्चारः
पुनरायाति याति च ॥ ७ ॥
- २३ । *संसारः* सर्वथाऽनित्यः
क्षणभङ्गुरकोऽस्थिरः ।
त्यजेत्तत्परमार्थज्ञः
संवृत्तिसत्यनिष्ठताम् ॥ ८ ॥
- २४ । आस्वर्गपदतो देवा
गन्धर्वा *दानवा* अपि ।
सर्वं च संक्रमप्राप्ताः
सर्वेऽपि संवृतेः फलम् ॥ ९ ॥
- २५ । सिद्धा विद्याधरा यक्षाः
गन्धर्वाश्च महोरगाः ।
गच्छन्ति नरकां भूयः
सर्वेऽपि संवृतेः फलम् ॥ १० ॥

- २६ । ये वीर्यवन्तो देवाश्च
ये गुणाकरवर्त्तिनः ।
स्वर्गसञ्चरतो भ्रष्टाः
सर्वेऽपि संहृतेः फलम् ॥ ११ ॥
- २७ । शतक्रतुश्चक्रवर्त्ती
प्राप्य यः परमं पदम् ।
पुनः पशुत्वमापन्नः
सर्वे ते संहृतेः फलम् ॥ १२ ॥
- २८ । तस्मात् स्वर्गे देवतानां
विज्ञाय सत्यमुत्तमम् ।
प्रभास्वरं बोधिचित्तं
नित्यं ध्यायन्ति *योगिनः* ॥ १३ ॥
- २९ । निर्वस्तुकं निरालम्बं
सर्वशून्यं निराश्रयम् ।
समतीतं प्रपञ्चेभ्यो
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १४ ॥
- ३० । अशीतलमनुष्णं च
अकठोरमकोमलम् ।
अग्राह्यं च तथाऽस्पर्शं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १५ ॥
- ३१ । न द्रुखं नापि दीर्घं च
न *वृत्तं* न त्रिकोणकम् ।
न स्थूलं नापि सूक्ष्मं च
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १६ ॥
- ३२ । व्यतिक्रान्तं भावनाभ्य-
स्तीर्थिकानामगोचरम् ।
प्रज्ञापारमिता *युक्तं*
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १७ ॥

- ३३ । अनुपममचिन्त्यञ्च
 अदृश्यं *परमं पदम् ।*
 प्रकृत्या परिशुद्धं च *
 बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १८ ॥
- ३४ । सर्वं *फेन*-प्रतीकाश-
 मसारं बुद्धुदोपमम् ।
 निरात्मकमनित्यञ्च
 मायामरीचिकासमम् ॥ १९ ॥
- ३५ । पिण्डवत्संहतं जातं
 प्रपञ्चैः परिपूरितम् ।
 रागद्वेषादिभिर्युक्तं
 *केवलं प्रतिबिम्बकम् * ॥ २० ॥
- ३६ । *यथा ह्यभ्यन्तरे शुक्लं*^१
 न क्षणमपि दृश्यते ।
 प्रज्ञापारमितादृष्टौ
 *तथा बुद्धिरसंस्कृता * ॥ २१ ॥
- ३७ । नित्यं क्रीडा च हासञ्च
 गोतिरालपनं रतिः ।
 सुखानि च गृहादीनि
 सर्वं तत् स्वप्नसन्निभम् ॥ २२ ॥
- ३८ । देहिभिः संस्कृतं सर्वै-
 स्तत् सर्वं स्वप्नसन्निभम् ।
 स्वप्नो हि चित्तसंकल्प-
 स्त्विदं च गगनोपमम् ॥ २३ ॥

^१ The reading in the Tibetan text is entirely different and we could not get a better sense out of it. It is apparent that the Tibetan translator took *abhyantara* for *abhrāntara*.

११। तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः। यद्येवं कुलपुत्र तदेते हसितवदितक्रोडित-
क्रोधमानिर्घापैशुन्यादयः कथं द्रष्टव्याः ॥

१२। महायानिकाः प्राहुः। मायास्वप्नेन्द्रजालसदृशा द्रष्टव्याः ॥

१३। तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः। कौटुम्भी माया कौटुम्भः स्वप्नः कौटुम्भ इन्द्रजाल
इति ॥

१४। महायानिकाः प्राहुः। उपलक्षणमात्रं माया अग्राह्या प्रतिभास-
मात्रं स्वप्नः प्रकृतिशून्यतास्वरूप इन्द्रजालः कृत्रिमप्रयोगः। एवं मार्षाः सर्वे
मायास्वप्नेन्द्रजालसदृशा द्रष्टव्याः। पुनरपरं द्वौ भेदौ विनिर्दिष्टौ ॥

१५। यदुत संहतिः परमार्थश्च ॥ तच्च संहतिर्नाम अयमात्मा
अग्रं पर एवं जीवः पुरुषः पुत्रलः कारकः वेदकः। धनपुत्रकलत्रादिकल्पना
या सा संहतिर्नाम। यच्च नात्मा न परः एवं न जीवो न पुरुषः न पुत्रलः न
कारकः न वेदकः न धनं सा मध्यमा प्रतिपत्तिर्धर्मानाम् ॥ तत्रेदमुच्यते—

१६। संहतिः परमार्थश्च

द्वौ भेदौ संप्रकाशितौ।

संहतिर्लौकिको धर्मः

परमार्थश्च लोकोत्तरः ॥ १ ॥

१७। संहतिधर्ममापन्नाः

सत्ताः क्लेशवशानुगाः।

चिरं भ्रमन्ति संसारे

परमार्थमजानकाः ॥ २ ॥

१८। संहतिर्लौकिको धर्मः

[अतम्] तं कल्पयन्त्यपण्डिताः।

अ(भूत)परिकल्पनाद्

दुःखान्यनुभवन्ति ते ॥ ३ ॥

१९। मुक्तिमार्गं न पश्यन्ति

अन्धा बालाः पृथग्जनाः।

उत्पद्यन्ते निरुध्यन्ते

अजस्रं गतिपञ्चसु ॥ ४ ॥

- २१ । भ्रमन्ति चक्रवन् मूढा
लोकधर्मसमावृताः ।
- २० । परमार्थं न जानन्ति
भवो यत्र निरुध्यते ॥ ५ ॥^१
वेष्टिता भवजालेन
संसरन्ति पुनः पुनः ।
- २२ । यथा चन्द्रश्च सूर्यश्च
प्रत्यागच्छति गच्छति ।
भवं पुरातिं तथा लोके
पुनरायान्ति यान्ति च ॥ ६ ॥^२
- २३ । अनित्याः सर्वसंस्कारा
अध्रुवाः क्षणभङ्गुराः ।
अतश्च परमार्थज्ञो
वर्जयेत् संहृतेः पदम् ॥ ७ ॥
- २४ । स्वर्गस्थाने तु ये देवा
गन्धर्वाप्सरसादयः ।
पुरातरस्ति च सर्वेषां
तत् सर्वं संहृतेः फलम् ॥ ८ ॥
- २५ । सिद्धा विद्याधरा यक्षाः
किंनराश्च महोरगाः ।
पुनस्ते नरकं यान्ति
तत् सर्वं संहृतेः फलम् ॥ ९ ॥
- २७ । शक्रत्वं चक्रवर्त्तित्वं
संप्राप्य चोत्तमं पदम् ।
तिर्य्यग्योनी पुनर्जन्वा
तत् सर्वं संहृतेः फलम् ॥ १० ॥

^१ The first two lines of this śloka, 5, form the first two lines of the śloka 6 in the Tib. text; while the last two lines are found as the first two lines of the śloka 5, in the Tib. text.

^२ The last four lines of this śloka form the śloka 7 in the Tib. text.

- २८ । अतः सर्वमिदं त्यक्त्वा
दिव्यं स्वर्गमहासुखम् ।
भावयेत् सततं प्राप्नो
बोधिचित्तं प्रभास्वरम् ॥ ११ ॥
- २९ । निःस्वभावं निरालम्बं
सर्वशून्यं निरालयम् ।
प्रपञ्चसमतिक्रान्तं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १२ ॥
- ३० । न काठिन्यं न मृदुत्वं
न चोष्णं नैव शीतलम् ।
न संस्पर्शं न च ग्राह्यं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १३ ॥
- ३१ । न दीर्घं नापि वा द्रुक्
न पिण्डं न त्रिकोणकम् ।
न कण्ठं नापि च स्थूलं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १४ ॥
न श्वेतं नापि रक्तं च न कृष्णं न च पीतकम्
अवर्णं च निराकारं बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १५ ॥^३
निर्विकारं निराभासं निरुहं निर्विबन्धकम्
अरूपं व्योमसंकाशं बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १६ ॥
- ३२ । भावनासमतिक्रान्तं
तीर्थिकानामगोचरम् ।
प्रज्ञापारमितारूपं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १७ ॥
- ३३ । अनौपम्यमनाभासं
अदृशं शान्तमेव च ।
प्रकृतिशुद्धमद्वयं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १८ ॥

^३ Slokas 15 and 16 are wanting in the Tibetan text.

- ३४ । सर्वं च तेन सादृश्यं
निःसारं बुद्धुदोषमम् ।
अशाश्वतं च नैरात्म्यं
मायामरौचिसन्निभम् ॥ १८ ॥
- ३५ । मृत्पिण्डवद् घटीभूतं
बहुप्रपञ्चपूरितम् ।
रागद्वेषादिसंयुक्तं
स्वप्नमाया तु केवलम् ॥ २० ॥
- ३६ । अभ्रान्तरे यथा विद्युत्
क्षणादपि न दृश्यते ।
प्रज्ञापारमितादृष्ट्या
भावयेत् परमं पदम् ॥ २१ ॥
- ३७ । क्रीडितं हसितं नित्यं
जल्पितं रुदितं तथा ।
मृत्युं गीतं तथा वाद्यं
सर्वं स्वप्नोपमं हि तत् ॥ २२ ॥
- ३८ । मायास्वप्नोपमं सर्वं
संस्कारं सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
स्वप्नं [च] चित्तसंकल्पं
चित्तं च गगनोपमम् ॥ २३ ॥
- ३९ । भावयेद् य इमं नित्यं
प्रज्ञापारमितानयम् ।
स सर्वपापनिर्मुक्तः
प्राप्नोति परमं पदम् ॥ २४ ॥
- ४० । इयं सानुत्तरा बोधिः
सर्वबुद्धेः प्रकाशिता ।
भावनानां भावयित्वेह
निर्वाणं लभते शिवम् ॥ २५ ॥

यावन्तः संवृतेर्दोषास्तावन्तो निवृत्तेर्गुणाः ।

निवृत्तिः स्वादनुत्पत्तिः सर्वदोषैर्नालप्यते ॥ २६ ॥ ⁴

अथ ते तीर्थिकाः तुष्टा विकल्परहिताः तदा भावना समाधाय महायानज्ञान-
लाभिनोऽभूवन्निति ॥

॥ महायाननिर्देशे नैरात्म्यापरिपृच्छा समाप्ता ॥

⁴ Not in the Tibetan text.

Note.—Mss. received February, 1930. Editor, V.-B.Q.

VISVA-BHARATI BULLETIN

I. ON THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDA WORDS.

By G. SCHANZLIN, *Bolpur, Bengal.*

II

There are many Munda words which must have had a common history with the words of the related groups, the Mon-Khmer, the Malaya and others. Whether it will be possible to formulate a system of laws showing on what general lines the diversifying influences created many languages out of one original common linguistic substratum remains to be seen. The processes of change, of modification, or deterioration of the original stems or bases have apparently been very irregular.

While it must be admitted that any closely related group of languages has certain inherent tendencies, certain innate characteristics which will make their appearance again and again, long after the original group of speakers have broken up into linguistic groups living far apart from one other, it should also be said that in most of such instances the modifying influences of new habitats, new modes of existence and of neighbouring languages are very many, and are bound to be of the deepest and most far reaching importance in the life history of language.

These changed conditions and surroundings reflect themselves in the linguistic development of any spoken language. Naturally, a people living near the sea coast will develop vocabularies different in many ways from those living between the mountain ranges, forest-dwelling hunters different from the nomads or the cultivators of the plains.

For instance, if it could be proven that the Mundas have in common, with Mon-Khmers, Malays and other related races of Further India and the Indian Archipelago, words for *cocoonut*, *rice*, *banana*, the names of certain fishes, terms for fishing, and boating implements, rudders etc., valuable inferences might be drawn as to the once common habitat of all these races on the coast of tropical seas. So far, however, the results of the investigation of the Austric languages tending in that direction are not exactly convincing.

The results of the labours of a few French scholars, Sylvain Levi,

Jean Przyluski, and Jules Bloch have been made available in India just now by the translation of some of their work. The translator is P. C. Bagchi, M.A. and the book has been published by the University of Calcutta, 1929, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India. On some words of typically tropical or semi-tropical things, as the words for *cotton*, *plantain* and *betel*, fairly satisfactory conclusions have been arrived at, while the words for *cocoanut* and *rice*, which are of equal interest and importance have not been sufficiently dealt with.

If the Santali words for rice, horo and huru, could be satisfactorily connected with the seemingly equivalent Mon and Khmer words, the equation thus established would go a long way towards proving that whatever the actual relation or contacts between the two groups of races may have been, the fact that they have common terms for tropical products would indicate where that meeting or contacts took place or what their original relationships were.

Will it be possible approximately to indicate what part of the various vocabularies of the group are really *Austrie*, i.e., common to all? Until we know far more of the structure of Austrie words than we know now, the existence of such a nucleus of Austrie words will be difficult to prove. But to come down to less specific words than these, to the terms for such homely things as *oil*, *flower*, *tree*, *tortoise*, *grass* and *jute*, we have the following :

- | | | |
|---------------|---------|----------------|
| 1. Santali : | sunum | oil |
| Kurku : | sunum | „ |
| Central Sakai | senam | oil |
| 2. Mon : | tanom, | a plant, tree, |
| Mundari : | tonang, | a forest |
| Uraon : | torang, | „ „ |

All these cases have in common the full words with a nasal at the end.

- | | | |
|--------------------|------------|----------|
| 3. Central Sakai : | kuro | tortoise |
| Malay : | koer-koera | „ |
| Khasi : | dykar | „ |
| Santali : | horo | „ |

Compare with this :—

- | | | |
|-----------|--------|-------|
| Mon : | kroptu | covea |
| Sakai : | jerkop | „ |
| Santali : | harup | „ |

4. Mon :	pakao and kao,	flower
Stiang :	kao,	„
Khmer :	phka,	„
Sakai :	pon,	„
Santali :	baha	„

In these two cases we have a fading out of *k* into *h*, and of *p* into *b*, which present no great difficulties in equating the words.

The remaining pair of words in this list were added tentatively for the words *grass* and *jute*.

Mon :	kamot	grass
Khasi :	kymbat	„ (Schmidt, Grundzuege der Khasi Sprache, p. 697).
Santali :	backom	„

Backom is the Santali word for the babui grass, used for making ropes. There is an up-country form *bad* or *bat* for the same grass.

Backom might well be related to *kymbat*. The change from *t* to *c* and the infix of *k* between the stem and the ending *om* will not present great difficulties.

And finally:—

Khasi: *kymbat*, flax, does at least remind one of the Bengali word *pat* for jute, and the Santali word, *bat son* for the Indian hemp.

We ought also look at the curious Santali word *merhet*, which seems to have no congruence among the Indo-Chinese group of Austric languages except perhaps the Mon words *mre*, a knife or cleaver, and a Wa word, *rom*, iron. There is however the word *mari*, for iron, in one of the Naga dialects, and Larsen as early as 1847 noted the Singoho word *mpri* for iron.

The Khasi has *rar* for iron, and of the Dravidian languages there is *irumbu* for iron, in Tamil, and, much closer, *irunu*, iron, in Telugu.

It remains to be seen how much such Dravidian traces will help in elucidating the Munda or Austric problems.

II. THE EQUIPMENT OF AN IRANIST.*

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., PH.D.

The Heart. So far we have been considering merely the intellectual aspect of an Iranist. The aim was 'to know something about everything' in order to know everything about one subject. I hope I have made quite clear my view that an Iranist must have a wide intellectual outlook, and must try to keep abreast of modern research in every direction.

But for Zoroastrians this is not enough. Non-Zoroastrians may be satisfied with this much ; most of the great Western Iranists, our revered *Gurus*, have been content with a purely intellectual interpretation of our culture. But a Zoroastrian must go further. He must not only interpret, but also live the life of the religion he has inherited from his forefathers. It is only by his life that he can give full significance to his theories. Otherwise the interpretations are in danger of remaining partial and full of mental reservations. It is easy to argue that certain precepts were very good for primitive society but are of no use to-day. But such an attitude leaves us cold. I would much rather have the fervour of the so aimlessly. Verily to-day we and barren researches of the finest scholars without the faith that enlivens all.

Intellect introduces a feeling of superiority, which separates and divides, while a fervent heart unites. We Parsis have been too individualistic of late and have forgotten to work together for a common ideal. It is this absence of an ideal in life that has caused our people to flounder so aimlessly. Verily to-day we

“eagerly frequent

Doctor and saint and hear great argument,

About it and about that, but evermore

Come-out by the same door as in we went”.

However glorious, however inspiring the ideal of a different religion may be, it cannot have the same appeal as our own. But unfortunately, we Parsis lack to-day the inspiration of our own past, of the message of our own prophet. If we could but realize that our own race had one day such inspiring ideals as raised them to the first rank amongst the

*Extracts from a lecture to Parsi Students. Continued from previous issue.
Editor, V.-B. Q.

people of olden days, how different would be our outlook on life and on the problems that face us?

For this both intellect and feeling are necessary. The chief difference between the "intellectual" and the "emotional" approach to a religion lies in their respective points of view. The intellectual approach is definitely historical. In studying the life and works of a great religious prophet the emphasis is placed on the date, on the cultural background and the historical significance of his teachings. His greatness is admitted but such greatness is believed to be relative (and not absolute), having particular reference to a particular epoch. The other view, which I hold myself, is that a Great Teacher of humanity is great and has significance not merely for his own time but for all time.

I think it is a great mistake to look upon the Prophets as men only a little in advance of the average humanity of their time. The wisdom of their teachings have a permanent value, and can only be appreciated by humility, by search, by devotion. Zoroaster Himself asking wisdom from Ahura Mazda begins with the words "I beseech with hands uplifted in humility". This should be our attitude towards the Prophet.

The first requisite, then, for understanding the true inwardness of the message of Zoroaster is "humility", the realization of the greatness of His Wisdom and of His Divine Inspiration. Then comes the "Search", by deep and continuous meditation, with the help of all our intellectual equipment. The third thing necessary is "devotion", a patient following of the appointed path. It is only in this way that we can begin to appreciate the inwardness of the Message. As years pass on, as we grow stronger in our "humility", our "search" and our "devotion", we will gather more and more of the Divine Wisdom enshrined in the great Message of Zoroaster. As veil after veil shall lift we shall realize that this Message has a meaning not only for Iran of several thousand years ago but for all humanity and for all time. We shall realize that this same "message" which we have jealously preserved through the ages is indeed one which we need to-day, one which will solve all our present difficulties and doubts. (*Concluded*).

NOTES.

Future issues of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* will be published in parts, four to the year which will be reckoned from October to September in conformity with financial year of the Visva-bharati.

Rabindranath Tagore arrived in U.S.A. early in October, and was taken seriously ill almost immediately afterwards. The doctors advised absolute rest for sometime and all American engagements were accordingly cancelled. But though he himself could not attend them, very successful exhibitions of his drawings were held in New York and and Boston. In our next number we will publish extracts from the comments of noted art critics on the Poet's drawings.

About a year ago we received a letter from an unknown Englishman expressing appreciation of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, and enclosing a most interesting article on *The Modern West*, which we had great pleasure in publishing in our issue of October, 1929. The writer, Mr. Reginald A. Reynolds, came to India shortly afterwards, and visited Santiniketan in last January. It will be remembered that he was commissioned by Mahatma Gandhi to carry his historic letter to the Viceroy, and was later placed in charge of *Young India* as its Editor. Before taking up his work in Sabarmati, Mr. Reynolds sent us a number of poems one of which we are publishing in this issue. He has also promised to write on the cultural relations between Europe and India, and we hope he will redeem his promise in the near future.

We are publishing in this issue the first of a series of three critical essays on the fundamental concepts of Sociology by Mr. Dhurjati Prasad Mukherjee, M.A., of the Lucknow University. In the two succeeding essays Mr. Mukherjee analyses the concepts of Equality and Social Forces in relation to Progress and Personality.

Dr. Julius Germanus, Ph.D., Nizam Professor of Islamic Studies, Visva-Bharati, discusses recent movements in Persia in the third article of a series, the first two of which, on Arabia and Turkey respectively,

were published in earlier issues. The last article, on Egypt, will be published in the next number. Dr. Germanus is at present engaged in a detailed study of modern Islamic movements in India.

Dr. Harish Chandra Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., of the Calcutta University, contributes a study of the co-operative movement in India. He is the author of the well-known *History of Early European Banking in India*, and several intensive studies of economic problems. He was a brilliant student of mathematics at one time, and we expect great things from him in analytic studies in statistical economics.

It will be noticed that we have adopted the definite policy of publishing systematically research memoirs of the Vidya-Bhavana (Research Institute) of the Visva-Bharati.

Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Adhyaksha, Vidya-Bhavana (Head of the Research Institute at Santiniketan), has initiated a comprehensive programme of comparative Tibeto-Sanskrit Studies. It is no exaggeration to state that as a result of his labours during the last five years he has succeeded in building up a new school for such study.

A critical restoration of the lost text of the *Mahāyānavimśaka* from Tibetan and Chinese Sources by Pandit Bhattacharya himself is published in full in this issue. The author of the work is believed to be Nāgārjuna, but whether the first Nāgārjuna (circa 200 A.D.) or the second Nāgārjuna (first half of the seventh century A.D.) remains undecided.

In this number is concluded a comprehensive and critical study of Jaina Schools and Sects by Mr. Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A. Mr. Sen was a research student of the Vidya-Bhavana, Santiniketan, for a number of years, and is at present working in Calcutta.

The restoration of the Sanskrit text (which was believed to have been lost) of the *Nairātmyaparipṛcchā* from a Tibetan version by Mr. Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya, M.A., published in this issue, is of great interest in as much as it affords convincing proof of the objective validity with which such work of restoration can be accomplished. A comparison

with the original text (which was discovered and published after the work of restoration was completed by Mr. Mukhopadhyaya) shows that there is a substantial agreement between the two versions.

Arrangements have been made for publishing a series of research memoirs and studies under the name of Visva-Bharati studies. The following numbers will be available immediately :—

No. 2. *Mahāyānavimśaka*. By Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya.

No. 3. *Schools and Sects in Jain Literature*. By Amulya Chandra Sen.

No. 4. *Nairātmyaparipīccha*. By Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya.

The following two numbers are nearly ready and will be published very shortly :—

No. 1. *Brahmasūtras*. Edited by Kapileswar Misra.

No. 5. *Catuhśataka*. Edited by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya.

Other volumes in preparation are :—

ĀGAMAŚĀSTRA OF GAUḌAPĀDA with a new Interpretation by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya.

NĀGĀNANDA, Tibetan Text. Edited by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya.

YUKTIŚAṢṬIKĀRIKĀ, Tibetan and Restored Sanskrit Texts. Edited by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya.

LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF DADU. By Kshitimohan Sen.

LIFE AND SAYINGS OF KABIR with his Sabaja and Mystic Sayings. By Kshitimohan Sen.

SAYINGS OF RAJJAB, one of the Chief Disciples of Dadu. By Kshitimohan Sen.

LIFE AND SAYINGS OF ANANDAGHANA, the Jain Mystic. By Kshitimohan Sen.

THE APABHRAMSA PASSAGES in the DAKARNAVA with the Tibetan Text. Edited by Nagendranarayan Chaudhuri.

ABHINAYADARPAṆA OF NANDIKĒŚVARA. Edited by Monomohan Ghosh.

CITTAVISUDDHIPRAKASANA attributed to Āryadeva, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts. Edited by Prabhubhai Bhikhubhai Patel.

SUBHAṢITASAMGRAHA. A New Edition. Edited by Prabhubhai Bhikhubhai Patel.

TRISVABHAVANIRDEŚA OF VASUBANDHU. Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts. Edited by Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya.

PAṆINIVYĀKARAṆASŪTRA, Tibetan with its Reconstructed Sanskrit Text. Edited by Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya.

ABHIDHAMMATTHAVIBHAVINI TĪKĀ, the most important Commentary on the ABHIDHAMMATTHA SANGAHA (Pali). Edited by Nitāvinod Gosvami.

THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

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DEFEAT.

By REGINALD A. REYNOLDS.

In change hath Death eternal dynasty :
This law of yesterday—these faded flowers—
Zimbabure, and the Babylonian towers
Are emblems of a mightier one than we,
Whose oldest songs are sadder than the sea.

Yet still, with infinite patience, toil and care
We rake the embers of the Past to find
Some vital spark to light the new-born mind ;
And as funeral ash the Phoenix bare
Our Faith is found in ruins of Despair.

For though the older Faiths have taken wings
We have no cause to fear. Our journey runs
Beyond the setting of a thousand suns ;
And the Eternal Swan forever brings
A continuity of beauteous things.

Nor shall they think of us, those men unborn,
“A race of weary labourers, whose toil
“Was bent to their destruction, that the spoil
“Of heart and brain and sinew might adorn
“The dying splendours of an age outworn.”

But rather, knowing how we toiled and planned,
Shall they discern amid the seeming loss
The mystery and meaning of the Cross :
And seeing here the working of His Hand
Thank God for suffering. . . . and understand.

INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL*

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

I wish to thank you for your words of welcome and for your approval of my work. I have been requested to speak a few words about international goodwill, but as this subject is so obviously controversial I hesitate to deal with it. I wish you could have had someone else more competent to deal with it.

One thing which I have realized in the East is that it is rather difficult in the Western Continent to cultivate the international mind. There are certain obstacles in the way which are militating against it. There is the spirit of individualism which has been so much raised by your culture in the West. Then it is apparent also that you have got here politics, and such politics as create differences between nations which are the cause of so much of the spirit of fighting and contention, making peace difficult to attain. We have also the same spirit of egotism in the people in the East, but I believe there is more community of interests there than excessive individualism.

It was during my voyage to America, I suppose, in 1916, that nationalism was first presented to me in its true light. When I came to Japan I had a chance of observing something that deeply hurt my mind. I saw the trophies won from the Chinese people being exhibited there. It was just after China had been humiliated by the Japanese people. It struck me as vulgar and vain-glorious that these people should forget everything and show this spirit of bragging. It was almost childish that a self-respecting nation should indulge in such a thing. It came to me very strongly owing to the fact that naturally the Japanese are very courteous and take an immense amount of trouble to make life beautiful and poetical. Because

*A summary of the speech given at the Reception arranged in his honour by the All People's Association at the Hyde Park Hotel, London, on January 8, 1931.

of this intense nationalism in abstract form, humanity is obscured, and that is why the Japanese did not see the shame of indulging in such a display. I feel that this nationalism smothers the higher spirit of man which you often find in the individual.

I am not competent to deal with international relationships between different countries, but, as I have said, your politicians really represent the spirit of aggressiveness which leads towards separateness. I know you are trying to do something to rectify the mischief through the League of Nations, but the nations are not represented by their idealists but only by their politicians. I do not think it is right that the nations should be represented by their politicians in a work which has for its object peace all through Europe. To my mind it is like a band of robbers being asked to organize the police department. (Laughter and applause).

What I have in my own mind is to try to create an atmosphere of mutual sympathy in my own institution. Amongst my own students I have done my best to create that atmosphere. This institution is outside political entanglements, and it is the one institution in which the students are natural to those visitors who come from the West or from other Eastern countries.

I have attempted to create this atmosphere in co-operation with some of the great men from Europe. When travelling through European countries, I sent out my appeal to some of the great scholars. My plan was not merely to teach my scholars, but to work so as to create an atmosphere of cultural co-operation. Many from the West responded to my invitation. I had great scholars from France, from Germany, from Czechoslovakia, from Italy, from Norway and from other countries, and we have had help from Englishmen and Americans.

I have also had great help in my parallel work, which is my village reconstruction work. We have had students from all parts of the world, as well as from other provinces besides Bengal in my own country. This is the kind of practical work which I am trying to do, and even in the midst of this great

cyclone of political restlessness in my country I do hope that institutions of this nature will be able to spread their influence to these shores.

It is to counteract this evil of separateness and to have a free channel of communication in a full spirit of sympathy and co-operation that I have dreamed of a day when you in England would come to us, not merely as members of the ruling class, or members of a bureaucracy, but in a detached manner, spreading human love among the people.

WANTED AMBASSADORS.

By MADAME B. P. WADIA

It is a well-known fact that in the modern East, from Angora to Tokyo, a dislike and suspicion for the whole West exists. The feeling is almost a hatred. Deserved or undeserved—it is there.

Political domination, economical pressure and differences of culture are generally said to be the cause. Some hold, and we believe there is a great deal of truth in the opinion, that missionaries of various church denominations, have contributed substantially to that hatred, by their uncalled for interference with religious beliefs of peoples; and especially by their ignorance, or crude and distorted understanding of the religious lore of these ancient races.

On the other hand, it is also acknowledged that the fusion of cultures, mainly through the penetration of the Westerner, has been of some advantage to all concerned. Our western scientific, hygienic and material knowledge, our social institutions, our history and literature have wrought a mighty change in the habits and customs of the East. We must shoulder the responsibility for causing great injury to their moral well-being, for we have introduced in their midst many evils and many diseases. But they will all agree, unless biassed by strong passion, that the West has been instrumental in opening their eyes to spiritual corruption, to intellectual dishonesty, to moral lapses, to lethargy in action, which had overtaken them, which had already killed some of the finest spirits, and were killing the souls of others.

There has been a universal renaissance. Both hemispheres and their innumerable races have come under its influence; and if we of the West have been instrumental in rousing the East, foregetful of its mighty and honourable past, the Orient has been a splendid agent to tear the veil of our religious superstition and bigotry, our race pride and insularity, our ignorance

and hypocrisy. We often wonder if from the events of the last 50 years, the East has not taken better advantage of the spiritual renaissance which has touched us all, and that we have still to absorb the force that upwells from spiritual spheres of the world within.

But what of that hatred of which we spoke? Will it not precipitate a war between the many coloured races of Asia on the one hand and the many proud peoples of Europe and America? We hope not. But hopes are hollow, and if they are to be realized in a tangible fashion, we have to work for them.

As it seems easy to look at the faults of others than our own, let us glance at our Asiatic neighbours. It is difficult to find out in whom distrust for the West is absent. Dislike for us is everywhere, and not silent either. Perhaps if we ask in what classes of the Eastern peoples is there least resentment, we might be able to get some basis for consideration. Those who are thorough-going materialists in the East are most vociferous against the West. Asiatic students of European and American Universities distrust and dislike us the most. They do not hate our ways and our institutions in themselves; most of them adopt European costume and ideas; their outlook is mainly western. But they certainly are all wrath and contempt for us. The way in which they are received in Western countries, the treatment meted out to them, etc., etc., all go to build up their attitude towards us. We do not altogether blame them; we must be prepared to take the consequences of our sneering, snobbish, and superior attitude. On their return home these students beat us at our own games, lash us with the whips bought in Paris or London or Washington, shoot us with the guns of Sorbonne, of Oxford, of Yale. They quote our Holy Bible to prove how unchristian we are; they apply the lessons of our histories, the rebellions of our masses against our tyrants, and compose and sing their own Marseillaise; they imitate our orators, recite our poets, and kindle the fire in their countrymen and make them shout—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. They are assisted by the products of Western model schools and colleges in every Asiatic country. This factor has been recognized, but not to the extent it ought to.

At the opposite pole is to be found another class which hates Westerners profoundly. If the student drunk with the wine of the West is vociferous, the priest full of his creedal hashish wars against us in silence. He does not fail to see that our western education has ruined his professional prospects, has shorn him of his powers, and has brought disregard and even contempt on his gods. We doubt very much if even the western officers of state really are aware of the subtle influence of the priest on the hearts of the masses? Our missionaries could know better, if they were really Christian in their brotherly contact with their own converts; but they are busy otherwise!

Thus two giant forces are working on millions of men and women of ancient and honourable Asia, and both are working up a frenzy of anti-western description. For many years this has been going on and now the results are visible.

Who are the friends of peace and universal good-will? Who are there who are likely to free themselves from the devil of hatred? What will cast out that devil? The western salesmen and shop-keepers are suspect as economic exploiters and they cannot work the miracle of peace. Our missionaries are the "enemies" of the religious natives—priest-shepherds and their flock alike; they have neither Christ-like straightforwardness, nor tactful diplomacy to work with. The officials, military and civil, are precluded by their position, their heavy work during their temporary stay in "heathendom," to become real friends of the people. They are not regarded as co-citizens, and there are important and vast tracts like Japan, China, Tibet, Persia where this official class even does not exist.

Who then? The spiritually minded in the West have a splendid chance to fraternize with the spiritually minded masses of Asia. Not Church-tied Christians, but those who have freed themselves from that narrow influence and who are not in Asia either for making money or to rule superciliously—such individuals are in demand. They can do world's work as harbingers of peace and good-will. But where are such men to be found?

We say, let them prepare themselves. Surely, the enthusiasm and endurance which under religious influence produced missionaries, catholic and protestant, who navigated oceans and

penetrated forests, are not incapable of begetting souls who will pierce the hearts of their brothers in Eastern countries. Nature supplies demand. It seems to us if we in the West and our colleagues in Asia plan to exchange ambassadors of Wisdom and Love, who will teach while they learn, and are willing to give and receive advice and instruction, a great forward step will be taken. The Poet Tagore has already done this in a measure and all homage to him, but a more universal planning seems necessary. Who is there in this beautiful Paris, in this land of France, who is prepared to join hands with us? We shall be glad to hear from them.*

*Translated from an article in *Theosophie*.

TRAINING FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT IN AN INDIAN SCHOOL.

By F. G. PEARCE.

The boys attending the Sardars' School, Gwalior, which was founded by His Highness the late Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia, are drawn exclusively from the class of Sardars and Jagirdars of the Gwalior State; that is to say, they are the sons of nobles and landed gentry. The great majority of them are of ancient Rajput or Maratha lineage, with fine traditions of military service. They differ markedly from the average Indian schoolboy of the present day in possessing in a high degree the equalities of initiative, organising capacity, and energy, but many of them are, on the other hand, decidedly below the average in their capacity for and application to bookish studies. This has made it all the more necessary to provide in this School suitable outlets for their energies, in the form of practical work, organised games, and all such activities as may help them to develop and to learn to use wisely and usefully those powers which they outstandingly possess.

The Prefect System.—The School is fortunate in generally keeping its pupils for many years. Quite a large number of them enter when they are of tender age, and do not leave until they have attained majority. This late age of leaving is due mainly to their backwardness in studies. But it is not altogether a disadvantage. It means that there are always in the School a number of senior boys, or rather, young men, who have grown up in the School, who really love it, and who are greatly respected by the younger ones. From among these seniors it is not difficult to find some who make excellent Prefects, and who can be entrusted with very considerable responsibility.

The Prefects are all nominated by the Principal, this being almost the only undemocratic item in the whole of the internal management of the School affairs. But, as they are responsible to the Principal for the maintenance of the tone of the School, its harmony and discipline, he retains this right of choice solely in his own hands; however when a new Prefect is to be appointed, he very often consults the other Prefects informally on the matter, so as to ascertain whom they consider worthy to be added to their number.

There are four Prefects, one for each dormitory; and four Assistant Prefects, likewise one for each. The boys are grouped in the dormitories roughly according to size and age. Three of the four dormitories have from 15 to 20 boys in each; in the fourth dormitory there are only five or six senior boys who are given special privileges; they belong exclusively to the two highest classes in the School, the Matriculation Class, and the Jagirdars' Class,—the two classes from which boys leave the School. The Head Prefect of the School is the Prefect of this "Collegians' " dormitory, as it is called.

The Prefect of each dormitory (and, in his absence, the Assistant Prefect) is expected to see that the boys in his charge adhere to the routine of the Daily Programme of the School, which is a very full one, and he is also expected to know if anyone is absent, and, if so, for what cause. To enable him to keep a check on this, no leave is granted except on the recommendation of the Dormitory Prefect, and, on returning, a boy who has been on leave, has to report to his Prefect. The actual granting of leave is not in the hands of the Prefects, but in those of the Boarding-House Superintendent.

The School Council.—The School Council is an exceedingly important body. It consists of the four Prefects, the secretary of the Mess Committee, the secretary of the Games Committee, two other boys elected by the whole School, one boy nominated by the Principal, the Boarding-House Superintendent, and the Principal; the Principal is ex-officio Chairman; the Council elects its own secretary and treasurer.

The Council has been given very wide powers, since, for

several years past, it has been doing excellent work within a more limited scope. It is clearly understood, however, that the powers are delegated to it by the Principal, who retains the right to resume them if he thinks they are being misused. In practice, however, the Principal avoids interference, and hitherto has acquiesced in decisions of the Council even when he has considered them to be ill-advised, his policy being to let the boys learn by their own experience, except when any extreme danger to the reputation of the School might be involved,—in which case he believes that the Council would be likely to defer to his judgment.

Practically all matters concerning the welfare of the School and its internal management,—with the exception of those relating to the staff, and matters which are within the power of the Governing Council of the School alone to decide,—are referred to the School Council. It is not simply an advisory body, but has certain definite executive powers, including the power to spend a considerable sum of money, for the Principal believes that power is not felt to be real unless it includes power to perform, power to spend, even though the funds may be very limited.

In this School, apart from the payment of the salaries of the staff, which are fixed by the Education Department, and the granting of certain sums of money for equipment, apparatus, and repairs, which is in the hands of the Managing Body, the income of the School is spent on the boys in three ways, first, on food, second, on clothing, and third, on the miscellaneous activities for the benefit of the boys, comprised under the heads of what is known as 'The School Fund,' which will be explained in the following paragraph. It will be shown how the School Council practically controls all these three ways of spending money on the boys, the total amount of money involved annually being more than Ten Thousand Rupees.

The School Fund.—The Managing Body of the School fixes the amount to be allotted annually, per boy, for food and for clothing. In addition to this each boy pays to the School, as a part of the fees, a sum of five rupees per month,

for 'The School Fund.' This is intended to cover the cost of personal requirements such as laundry, hair-cutting, etc., and also school-books, games, picnics, trips, and all other amusements in which the boys participate.

The Principal has placed the use of this money entirely in the hands of the School Council. It may seem a risky step to have taken, but he believes that, in education no less than in political administration, you can never train people to govern themselves, unless you actually let them govern. To do this, you must be prepared to run some risk, just as you must do if you are going to teach a man to swim or shoot. You must face the possibility of mistakes being made, for the sake of the chance of success. It is worth the risk, especially in this School, for in later life its pupils will have to administer great estates, and, if they do not learn to handle money wisely while they are at school, they will surely make worse mistakes later.

In actuality, there is no great risk. The School Council has to frame a Budget, reckon how much it wants to spend on each head, and allot the funds at its disposal accordingly. The actual money is kept in a Bank, and can only be drawn by authorisation of the Principal. Nevertheless, the knowledge that the spending of so large a sum of money paid by the estates of the boys for their own common welfare while at school, is in the hands of their Council, has the effect of giving the Council members a sense of their own importance, and of their responsibility to their fellows and to the School. Membership of the School Council is an honour not lightly esteemed. The fact that this honour is obtainable in several ways is also of value. It can be gained by the steady, reliable boy who becomes a Prefect, as well as by the popular boy who gets elected. The inefficient, if elected, are soon found out, and not elected again.

The functions of other elected bodies will now be described.

The Mess Committee.—Once in two months the whole School, in its Assembly, proceeds to elect a Mess Committee of four members, to which are added, ex-officio, the Assistant

Boarding-House Superintendent, and the School Doctor. This Committee has absolute control, under the Principal and the School Council (to which it is held responsible), of the money allotted for the Food supply.

There are two dining-halls, one vegetarian, and one non-vegetarian. (Note the absence of distinctions based on caste, which detractors of India are so fond of emphasizing on every possible occasion.) It is a standing practice that each dining-hall must have at least one representative on the Mess Committee. The Committee elects one student-member of its number as its secretary; he automatically becomes a member of the School Council, and it is his duty to represent the Mess Committee in the Council, as well as to convey to his Committee any decisions which the Council may make from time to time regarding the matters referred to the Council by the Mess Committee.

A Mess Committee holds office for two months, and its four student-members divide this period of duty, taking either a week each, alternately, or a fortnight at a stretch, or a month between two members acting jointly. The duties of the member-in-charge are arduous. First, he has to ascertain roughly how much he can afford to spend in his period of office, for he will not be permitted to exceed that amount. Bearing this in mind, he arranges the *ménus* for the meals. If any School picnics, feasts, At Homes, or other social functions fall within his term of office, he must allow for these in his budgetting. He has absolute control over the food supply, except that, if he is found to be indulging in unwise experiments, he will be pulled up by the School Doctor or the Council. If his *ménus* are not satisfactory he will soon hear about it from the boys; there is also another check, the Day-duty Officer, of whom more will be said later. The Mess Committee also controls the kitchen-servants, and can make recommendations to the School Council concerning any changes it considers desirable.

The Games Committee.—Games and sports form a very important part of the training imparted in this School. They are organised entirely by a Committee which is responsible to

the School Council in the same way as the Mess Committee. The School Council selects the first 'Fifteen,' which consists of the tried and (generally) all-round athletes of the School. The members of the Fifteen elect the captains of the four chief team-games, Cricket, Hockey, Football, and Tennis. These four, together with the two Games-masters of the School, and the Military Instructor, form the Games Committee, which elects one of its student-members as Secretary, who represents its on the School Council.

At the beginning of the year, the School Council allots a certain portion of the School Fund for the use of the Games Committee. The School also has a grant for games in its annual Budget, and these two amounts are at the disposal of the Games Committee for the year. The Committee has to frame its annual Budget, and it is responsible to the School Council not only for the spending of the money allotted to it, but also for the entire arrangement and working of the programme of games and sports throughout the year. The Committee allots different parts of the work to its various members, supervision of marking out the ground for sports, to one member, acting as starters and timers and judges, to others, and so on. Thus each member who is elected to any Committee feels that his office is no mere sinecure or excuse for a title, but that he is entrusted with real power and responsibility, and if he does not perform the duties of his office, he will be made to feel it by the boys.

Boys' Day.—Once a month a full day is given to the boys on which no ordinary classes are held. It is called "Boys' Day." It is not a holiday in the ordinary sense of the word, but a busier day than usual, for throughout this day are held all sorts of activities which the boys enjoy, and which are organised mainly by them, with the help of some members of the Staff. The Boys' Day Committee consists of three members of the Staff, elected by the Teachers' Council, and three boys, elected by the School Council. This Committee arranges the programme for the Boys' Day of each month. The Day generally begins at an early hour of the morning with a short prayer in the open air, under the trees, followed

by some exciting Scout Games. After a rest and some refreshments there follows a programme of some two or three hours devoted to recitations, dialogues, and a debate. The boys have been preparing during the previous weeks for these items, and a panel of Judges awards points which are counted towards the Clan Championship (which will be referred to, later on.) After lunch, there are competitions in indoor games, and then a match in some team-game, followed by an At Home to which old boys and parents are invited. All the arrangements and entertaining are organised and carried out by the boys under the Social Officer who is one of the members of the School Council. In the evening there is usually a cinema show.

Other Officers of the Council.—A fixed sum is spent each year on the clothing of each boy. The School has its uniforms,—the standard pattern of clothes prescribed for daily use, in summer and winter, for games, riding, school etc. The boys take a pride in their clothes, and rightly so. The Council therefore elects one of its members as Clothing Officer; he, and the member of the Staff who is in charge of clothing, and the Boarding-House Superintendent, form the Clothing Committee. This Committee makes the Clothing Budget, selects materials to be used, and sends up its proposals to the Council, through the Clothing Officer.

The Council also elects certain other officers who have important duties to perform. These are the Sanitation Officer, the Common-Room Officer (who has charge of the indoor games, and the periodicals supplied to the reading-room), the Social Officer, who has the important duty of looking after guests. The School has a special Guest-room, always ready, and specially meant as an encouragement to ex-students to visit their old school.

Besides these, the Council keeps a list of older boys, about twenty-five in number, who it considers responsible enough to be entrusted with an office entitled 'Day-duty.' The 'Day-duty Officer' wears a cadet uniform and is on duty from early morning until bedtime, on one day only in each month. His business is to observe everything. He is to

note in detail whether everything is running as it ought to do,—who comes late for morning parade,—who is not properly dressed for School Assembly, or for games,—whether the meals are in time, and of good quality,—whether the dormitories, bathrooms, school buildings and surroundings are swept clean, and so on. He notes his observations in the Day-duty Officers' Diary, which he receives from the Officer of the previous day, and shows it to the Principal on the next morning. This diary is of the utmost use. It enables the Principal to nip in the bud many a piece of slackness, for a boy who is on duty only one day in the month, and who feels it a privilege to have been chosen for this work, is far more keen-eyed for defects than a regular officer who has to perform the same round and routine every day. Deprivation of the privilege of being on the list of Day-duty Officers is one of the severest penalties which the Council metes out to offenders against discipline and good form.

The Clan System.—Though not directly bearing on the question of self-government, reference may here be made to another feature in the organisation of the Sardars' School, since it forms a very strong stimulus to many other activities. The School is divided into four groups, named 'Clans,' each bearing the name of an Indian hero, and having its own distinguishing colour. As far as possible the Clans are so divided that they contain an equal number of boys of outstanding ability in games. The Council regulates the division and frames all the rules of the Inter-Clan competitions.

These competitions comprise practically every activity of the School, not only the games. Points are awarded to individuals for regular attendance, conduct, school work, deeds of bravery, athletic prowess, scout tests, objects made by the boys themselves, objects collected for the School Museum, and these points go to swell the total of points scored by the Clans to which the individuals belong. Points are also deducted for absence, violation of School Rules, and a few other offences. There are inter-Clan matches in all team games, and also in such activities as riding, shooting, gardening, gymnastics, indoor games etc.

An important feature is that no individual prizes are awarded in this School, with two exceptions,—a Silver Cup to the senior boy who scores the largest number of points of his Clan during the year,—and a similar prize to the junior boy who accomplishes the same. A Champinionship Cup is awarded annually to the Clan which scores the largest number of points for all the activities of the year (including marks in the School Examinations), and the members of the winning Clan are entitled to wear a small badge throughout the following year, which they forfeit if their Clan loses the Championship.

We have found that this system has most of the advantages of competition without its evil effects. The smallest boy feels that he can do something for his Clan, even if it be only by attending school regularly and scoring full-attendance marks. In actual practice the younger boys do contribute as much to the Clan total as the older ones, for they are specially active in such things as handwork, collecting and so on.

The entire Clan system is organised and directed by a special committee consisting of the four Clan Chieftains, who are boys elected by the members of their respective Clans. This Committee, however, is also finally responsible to the School Council.

The Clan system has now been in operation for about a year and a half; other items of self-government have been in existence longer. With such a preparation as a foundation, it is in the natural course of things that an effort should now be in progress to extend the self-governing principle to studies also, in the form of the Dalton Plan. This is now being tried in the four highest classes of the School, and it remains to be seen whether for this type of boy self-govenment in studies proves as successful as self-government in other activities seems to be.

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EQUALITY AND PROGRESS

By DHURJATI PRASAD MUKHERJEE.

The idea of equality has differed in different countries and in different times. It has varied with the varying vicissitudes of group-suffering. For the concept of equality has usually been determined by the reaction against the particular form of disabilities imposed upon the sufferers. Sometimes it has been the exclusive political privileges, sometimes the tyranny of the priestly classes, or at other times the economic exploitation of one class by another which would become galling and oppressive. Discontent spreads among the exploited class, and usually the conscience of a few rare individuals of the exploiting class is also aroused; the social equilibrium is perturbed, and the forces of revolution rally round a newly forged concept of equality.

Equality among the members of the ruling race marks the earliest stage in the evolution of the State. Thus, in the Greek democracies, in the Roman Republic and Empire, among the Germanic tribes and Federations of Central Europe (no less than in India, China and Japan), the descendants of the conquerors were the only citizens in possession of full civic rights. The ancient State was a pyramid, the apex of which was the conquering race and the base of which was formed by the vanquished tribes. This is why Socrates, Plato and Aristotle 'very nearly taught a doctrine of spiritual inequality'. The Stoics were really the first people in Europe to believe in and preach the spiritual equality of mankind. Their faith in the intrinsic rationality of human beings was strong. Yet stoicism remained an aristocratic creed; it never appealed to the masses though 'good' was conceived hedonistically, and rationality was granted to all men. For, with the Stoics, the faith in equality and unity of mankind was an intellectual and impersonal abstraction. As Dr. Willoughby observes, "it was not a unity based upon a mutual charity, sympathy and love, following from a conscious recognition that all men and

women are moral beings, all the objects of a single divine and loving will". Man as an ethical being, as an individual who is an end by himself, was not recognized by the early philosophers of Greece as a rule. The social good was appreciated but the value of the life of the individual was ignored. (Is it not strange that stories of human beings as members of a family, as fathers, mothers, sons and daughters, or lovers are rare in the chronicles of Greece? Is it because of the fact that the whole emphasis was on the civic virtues and duties as opposed to individual merits?).

Even in the best period of Greek civilization, an individual was never interpreted in the light of his conscience. So when the Apostles preached equality before God in fellowship with Jesus Christ, the unenfranchised poor found a ray of hope in the message. The patrician was responsible for the greatness of Rome, and the poor foreigner was debarred from enjoying the privileges of the patrician. In principle, the Roman republic was an extension of the city-state of Rome, itself modelled on the aristocratic city states of Greece. Those debarred from enjoying the rights and privileges of citizenship flocked to the catacombs. But their hopes of millennial equality where all were equal in faith, hope and charity, were not to be realized, for such realization depended on the intervention of the clergy drawing their power from one man who held the key to the ultra-mundane kingdom. The Pope ruled in apostolic succession, and by virtue of his possession of the key, became the arch-mediator between God and His children, and the supreme authority for laying down and interpreting the conditions of fellowship in Christ for the faithful.

In the meantime, the Republic had changed into an Empire. Rome had now become the centre of the world's trade and commerce. Foreigners were settling in great numbers in Rome. Their presence increased the wealth of the city. The task of colonial government and the problem of the alien introduced the principles of equity in Roman jurisprudence. The growth of equity succeeded in throwing open to all the inhabitants of the Empire the rights and duties of being governed by the *Jus Civile* of Rome. The Emperor Caracalla

satisfied a long-felt want, and the year 211 A. D. must be recognised as a landmark in the annals of democracy, when the principle of equality before the law was first formally recognised. What has happened in Europe since then in the matter of legal equality is either an extension or a variation of this principle. This idea of equality in the eyes of the law, however important an achievement it might be, was and is neither universal in its scope nor practicable in administration. Even when legal equality is recognized as the source of individual rights, the exercise of such rights always depends on the possession of certain capacities. These capacities, however, are not constant for all individuals or all groups of individuals. There are the minors and the dependents, women amentes and dementes, the morones and the insane, in fact, the whole class of the feeble-minded who have to be protected. And there are the 'backward races unfit for self-government' for whose benefit administration has to be carried on by self-appointed trustees. Over and above that, there is class-legislation.

Historically, the idea of legal equality could not be carried to its logical conclusion in the Imperial Rome of later days, mainly for the reason that the secular state had become transformed into the Holy Roman Empire. The church displaced the city in later times, and created a division between the laity and the clergy. Naturally, the object of popular opposition was not so much the legal inequalities that prevailed as the clerical supremacy in theological and intellectual matters and the clerical tyranny in the moral affairs of men. St. Paul's sentence, 'there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, bond nor free', and the Christian writer Tertullian's dictum, 'the world is a republic, the common land of the human race', became meaningless arrays of dead phrases. Numerous sects arose all over Europe, in England, France, the Netherlands and Germany, and began to reinterpret the doctrines of the church in the original spirit of Christ and Paul. They were the precursors of the Reformation. A parallel movement was started in education to free young minds from the bondage of theology and the domination

of the clergy. The growth of a new humanism initiated a new phase in European civilization. The idea of moral and economic equality practised by the leaders of early Christianity gained fresh significance. Martin Luther denied the authority of the Pope and his clergy, while the German peasants denied the claims of the princes, (but Luther was not conscious of the parallelism between the two movements). Men were the same before God, and had equal rights in his gifts. Therefore men were entitled to attain the same status before the Father and no priests were needed to put them on the same level.

The idea of economic equality did not, however, develop for a long time. It had to wait for the transformation from an agricultural to an industrial condition of society. The agricultural type of civilization was not congenial to the growth of economic equality. But a start was made in the Protestant movement. This movement did something more than protest, it had a constructive aim with its active principle of moral equality. But the movement as such was lost in the midst of religious wars conducted apparently for otherworldly reasons but essentially in the interests of the Roman Church. The folly of religious wars created such a reaction that Luther's magnificent effort to teach man to depend on himself came to naught for the time being. Society became organized into states, and the autocracy of princes supplanted the tyranny of the clergy. In the Catholic states, the clergy adopted a new stratagem and invested the king with a measure of divine authority proportional to his military and bargaining powers. In the protestant states, the king became the defender of the faith. If he was powerful, he seized the powers and privileges (even the property) of the clergy. When the king became the head of the church and the state alike, he could enter into conspiracy with the noble and the clergy in an orgy of exploitation of the masses. Thus were sown the seeds of the French Revolution.

Political equality was the dominant idea of the 19th century, not in the sense that it was successfully achieved, but in the sense that collective human endeavour in Europe, for the first time, expressed itself consciously and deliberately

in favour of equal political and civic rights for the people. The initiative had been taken during the French Revolution. On the negative side it succeeded in destroying certain old-world conventions. The feudal nobles and the clergy were forced to give up their privileges. On its positive side, the three catchwords of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' were the chief contribution of the Revolution to the making of subsequent history. In civic affairs, careers were opened to talented individuals. In affairs of state, the new religion of Nationalism became firmly established and gave sanction to the right of every nation to pursue its own course of political and civic development.

The point to be noted here is that the idea of equality in post-Revolutionary Europe was essentially political in nature. The extension of the franchise was considered to be the most important condition precedent for all other reforms in the 19th century. England extended the franchise, consolidated the rule of law, engaged in free trade with every country of the world, allowed the largest measure of freedom to her citizens, and became the model state for the rest of the world. In England at least, "the judgments rendered were to be determined wholly by the facts and law involved, and hence irrespective of the social, economic, political or even moral standing of the parties litigant". Politically, England profited most by the French Revolution.

The Industrial Revolution, which started in England and spread gradually to the other countries, wrought enormous changes in the means of production, and consequently in the stratification of society. In the early days, society was synonymous with the conquering race and their progeny; then it was supposed to be mainly composed of landlords and bishops. After the Industrial Revolution society became identified with the capitalists. The exploited labourers became restless and discontented. A theory was elaborated to explain and justify this spirit of unrest, and show its consequences. Karl Marx gave a materialistic interpretation of history with the thoroughness of a German, and though he recognized the role of moral, religious and other ideas, he sought to banish non-

economic sentiments and actions from the list of the main driving forces of history. The rock-bottom of the question, in his opinion, was the conflict of interests between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots', the rich and the poor. Socially necessary labour alone determined the value of the commodity, and the surplus value exploited from the unorganized labourers went to swell the profits of the capitalist. So, as on the one hand, the labourer was getting poorer, on the other hand, the capitalist was securing a superfluity of material goods. A revolution was therefore inevitable, and future history would be shaped by the creative forces of this revolution.

The socialistic criticism of the present iniquities in the possession of material goods contains many elements of truth. In the first place, the insistence on the social aspect of labour in the determination of value; secondly, the necessity for the organization of labour; thirdly, the usefulness of self-government in industry; and, lastly, a spirit of hopefulness regarding the time when the labourer would come into his own in society, all combined cannot fail to exercise a potent influence on the future history of civilization.

Socialism in demanding economic equality feels certain that all other forms of equality, social and political, would follow inevitably. That is, from the point of view of freedom, the socialist maintains that once economic needs are adjusted, other aspirations and creative activities of individuals would find a free and natural outlet. Under capitalism, he says, creative efforts are possible for a small class of people, the rich; for the rest such activities are practically impossible or only possible under the greatest difficulties. Therefore, the creative efforts either become leisurely activities or partake of the nature of the difficulties overcome. Art becomes aristocratic, unreal and unbalanced, and reflects only one aspect of human nature. All inventions are patented for private gain. Snobishness and bitterness tinge all social activities. In so far as the creative impulses are fettered and atrophied by long repression, there is a disturbance in the balance of the human being, and that is an ethical loss. So the most important demand of the socialist, from the point of view of freedom, is

for opportunities which will allow the creative impulse of individuals to work unhampered.

If we substitute the word "proletariat" for the word "citizen," then the following remarks on the spirit of the French Revolution may very well apply to the Communist movement. "That spirit had in it the fierce quality of enthusiasm. When men come to think of the world as a universe in which their lives count, in which their individual minds are associated with a great harmony of functions and purposes, their response to this new vision has a kind of mystical force. There is in the atmosphere of the French Revolution as in that of the early Christian Societies, the rapture of confidence and expectation. The word 'citizen' meant to this movement what the word 'Christian' had meant to the other; it brought into men's minds a driving power such as could be brought by no mere sense of wrong; men were eager to die for it; they became, (unhappily) scarcely less ready to kill for it. The secret of happiness and virtue, it was a word to send armies to encounter every kind of peril from one end of Europe to the other. It is just this quality in revolution that makes it at once so intoxicating and so terrifying. Minds take sudden light from it, and a power that teaches by flashes is a dangerous master. Enthusiasm turns to fanaticism and under its spell men are better and worse than their fellows. In the French Revolution, politics are at once sublime and brutal, generous and savage, surpassing the most ardent hopes of the age, outrunning its wildest fears. Men are born equal and with equal rights. Free and equal they remain. The first article of the Declaration of the Rights of Man sped on wings of passion from the study to the Assembly, from the Assembly to the streets of Paris, from the streets of Paris to the battle-fields of Europe."

That Communism in Russia is a new faith which inspires confidence for it in men who are as ready to die as to kill has been noted by all observers. The mental attitude of the communist is in many ways that of a mystic or a fanatic. But has the spirit of equality, liberated by the shock of wide-spread destruction, found free expression in the new scheme of things? Even the greatest admirer of the Russian Revolution has to

confess that there exist serious gaps between professed aims and actual achievements. The excuse of enemies abroad, the indifference of peasants, and the transitional need of strict control over the wavering and the heretic are cold comfort to those who had no doubt suffered from inequalities under the old regime, but who still suffer from the ruthless efforts from the top to secure adherence to certain abstract principles. The Russian labourer has acquired a wonderful sense of dignity. He is participating in startling experiments. He no longer walks with stooping shoulders. But he does not as yet look like 'a poplar shooting its head up into the skies,' when he has to merge himself in a collective whole, the interpretation of the purpose of which is in the hand of a particular party in power. Civic equality which postulates the right capacity and practice of taking continuous initiative is confined to the executive of the party. Even individuals who have energy to survive this process of surrender to the collective whole emerge as colourless, uniform quantities whose value, logically, is one. There can be no equality in uniformity. The value of equality consists in variety which is possible only when individuals have the right to differ from one another and be respected for the sake of such very differences.

There appears to be a real conflict between the fundamental ideals of philosophical communism and the method adopted for their realization in Soviet Russia. A theory of action which insists on emphasizing the superiority of the collective group over the individual unit is bound to frustrate individual initiative to a great extent.

The above survey should not lead us to the conclusion that inequality has been the monopoly of European societies. Whenever there have been conquests, there has been a stratification of society. In the beginning it is essentially two-fold: the victors and the vanquished. Later on, society is split up into a number of strata. The existence of rank, based on wealth, prowess, superior knowledge of the mysteries of nature, and the magical control of elemental forces by propitiation and incantation, is to be noticed in all primitive and tribal societies. In the civilized communities of the East, there has always

been a marked difference in the sharing of social, political and economic privileges. In recent time, however, such internal differences have been overshadowed by other inequalities created by new political and economic situations arising out of the domination of the East by the West. It is no longer the Brahmin or the Mandarin group of oligarchy that commands all the special privileges; in many ways they have been replaced by the white members of powerful Western nations. 'The white man's burden,' the 'sacred trust' of the West to civilize the East are the slogans with which the continuance of political and economic domination of subject races is sought to be justified. The reaction against this attitude has taken the form of the intense preoccupation of the Eastern people with the problem of removing political inequality. Looking beyond the immediate political struggles, we find that in the Eastern, as well as in the Western society of to-day, individuals are, for all practical purposes, enclosed in class or caste. The Indian speaking of destiny often means status which is determined by birth. In an advanced state of society the growing admixture of races and the increasing division of labour lead to the recognition of functioning as an important element in the social structure. It must not be assumed, however, that the functional organization of society means equality for all. Admitting the validity of Nesfield's theory of the functional origin of caste in Northern India (it is valid for more than 75 per cent. of the castes in the United Provinces), all that we know of the measure of equality achieved within the caste is that the caste-guild or Panchayat, where it works efficiently, seeks to remove unfair economic competition from among its members. The means adopted are, first, regulation of prices, wages, hours, and other conditions of employment and marketing; secondly, provision of a certain amount of technical instruction and training through apprenticeship, primarily for the young members of the family of the craftsmen but to the benefits of which young men of the same caste are socially entitled; and thirdly, by the organization of social and religious festivals in which all, without distinction, can and very often do participate. Instances of efficient caste-guilds are not rare even now. For obvious

reasons they are disappearing. But they prove that there was a time when society was organized on a functional or occupational basis.

The caste, however, is a socio-economic group, in which the social functioning of a member is more important than the economic. This has been a characteristic feature of almost all Indian communities, even of those which do not recognize caste in the orthodox sense of the term. The overwhelming importance attached to 'samaj-dharma' has been largely responsible for the stability and consolidation of such communities inspite of their political vicissitudes. Social solidarity, in the past, largely compensated for political atomism. The existence of numerous castes within the village has always been of less significance than that of the caste feeling that comprehends villages, districts and even provinces. The political importance of the Hindu Mahasabha, incorporating all castes and transcending provincial barriers, is a recent example of the same tendency.

Once we recognize that the genius of Hindu culture is essentially social, it is easy to notice how the sense of social solidarity has retarded economic disruption.

A society based primarily on a particular system of production is apt to be dismembered into conflicting classes. The same could be said of a society based on a particular system of sharing political spoils and privileges. The comparative stability of Hindu and Chinese societies (based as they are on principles of social obligation with political or economic rights and duties following therefrom) proves that disruption can be stayed by an insistence on the social aspects of group-living. The social aspect is emphasized by other factors than caste. Thus the joint-family, especially under the Mitakshara and the Dayabhaga, secures to the aged, the disabled, the weak, the widow and other dependents a certain measure of economic support and prevents them from being driven to slums—the breeding ground of class-consciousness. The same could be said of Muslim and Chinese societies. The family-life of all Oriental communities lays a religious and moral obligation on the able to support the unable and the disabled. It is a socio-

religious counter-move to economic inequality. The common fund of the village, the democratic procedure of village- and caste-panchayats, the division of waste-land by lot and its distribution by rotation, the strong tradition of co-operation in social and economic life, have all combined to mitigate to a great extent the hardships arising out of the inequality implicit in the caste-system. That castes are still undergoing the slow process of fusion, mainly, as a result of changes in occupation, that "new endogamous groups are constantly being created, the process of fusion is ever in operation, and what is more important still the *novus homo*, like his brethren all the world over is constantly endeavouring to force his way into a higher grade," are facts about the present day caste in India which have to be recognized along with those about its rigid restrictions. The important point to be noted in the present discussion is the fact that within the caste, there was, at least, in the past, a perceptible measure of economic equality, secured by the caste-guild, and also no small measure of social equality secured through the sense of social obligation informing all the members of the community, rich and poor. Yet the fact remains that the social obligation was itself a function of birth.

Let us grant that in the good old days the caste-guilds worked smoothly. We should not forget, however, that both status and occupation were determined by birth. This principle at its best, was based on a crude knowledge of the heritability of certain traits of craftsmanship, and the desirability of fostering them by the provision of a congenial atmosphere and suitable instruction. The caste principle divided society into a few broad classes, within each of which a certain amount of equalization of opportunities may be said to have prevailed. In other words, in the healthiest period of Oriental Society (Indian and Chinese), within a particular group or caste, function was, in practice, almost as important as birth in the determination of status. But even in the golden age, so far as the whole structure of the caste system was concerned, especially in the relation of one caste to another, function remained secondary to the older principle of birth. In the period of decadence function itself became as stereotyped as birth.

This is the position of Hindu society to-day. The caste is no longer an equalizing agency within its fold. The caste-guild no longer exercises a quasi-monopoly. But the caste feeling is not yet dead. As the lower castes in India are very poor, and caste-feeling, instead of dying, is increasing among them, the gulf between work and wages (which would usually be small when choice of occupation is free and dependent on acquired skill), is becoming wider. The disagreeable occupations to which some are born are not fetching high wages, as they should normally. Occupations stratified into caste cannot admit of any principle of free competition for equal wages or opportunities.

The heritability of certain gifts and of the need for their development by proper stimuli, which was the primary merit of the caste-system in early times, has been misinterpreted for their own advantage by interested parties like priests and warriors. At the present time, this crude knowledge which is supposed to be stored in caste-traditions offers no hope of the enjoyment of proportional opportunities for the development of individual abilities. The caste-system in modern Hindu society cannot, by any stretch of sociological imagination, be considered to be serving eugenic needs. Nor can the present structure bear the stress of democratic and individualistic tendencies of the Western civilization in which the idea of equality has a peculiar significance of its own. It is not surprising, therefore, to find in recent Indian thought a growing emphasis on the urgent need of doing away with differences determined by birth. The increasing discontent among the depressed classes against social superiority of the higher castes, as well as the urge in the mind of the educated and politically-minded intelligentsia to remove the social and political differences between the "natives" and the white members of the foreign ruling class, (who are the glorified Brahmins of modern India with powers of good and evil increased a thousand-fold) are different phases of the same movement.

It must be remembered, however, that the idea of political, social and economic equality, as entertained by the Oriental of the 20th century, is distinctly of European origin and that it

is primarily in reaction to foreign domination that this idea is gathering strength in the East.

But what is the abiding value in the idea of equality? Is it a necessary factor for progress? Progress in the ultimate analysis involves change, directivity and purpose. The conditioning phenomena are (1) geographic, *i.e.*, "climate, soil, water-supply, other mineral sources, flora, fauna, topography"; (2) technic, *i.e.*, "the material products of human work, which having once been produced are conditions of further activities"—these, being human achievements, are more subject to human control than the geographical conditions; (3) psycho-physical—which are either congenital, like age, sex, race, psychic predisposition, temperament, natural endowment, hereditary disease and defect; or acquired, like other diseases, defects, developed strength and skill, habits, etc.; (4) the social, *i.e.*, the ideas and sentiments, customs and beliefs, mores and folkways in which an individual is born. This is the classification of the conditioning phenomena given by the late Prof. Hayes.

The geographic factor is comparatively fixed. The technic and the social conditions are subject to rational human control. They merely represent the process of differentiation between individuals, institutions, customs, beliefs, traditions, etc. in the light of values and meanings. But a social force is neither a physical force, nor a moral one. From one point of view, it may be understood as an item in the causal chain, where cause means either a condition precedent or a liberating agent. Rituals, public opinion, traditions, educational agencies are all useful institutions in the sense that with their help the individual can adopt definite sets of values, but to think that they alone create values is no less unwarranted than to consider that the needle on the record creates the music. Social force, if it is to be considered as a force at all, is inherent in the individual living in association with other individuals. Religion, public opinion, or educational agencies depend for their value entirely on the individuals associated with these institutions. It is not rare to find that they often lack positive ideals, are actuated by motives more worthy of the lowest organisations than of human beings, and are powers of evil rather

than of good. The charge may be laid that I am confusing ritualism for religion, the yellow press for public opinion, and a third rate school or college for the right type of an educational agency. If this charge be true, it would only show that the rightness or the wrongness of the type depends entirely upon individuals associated with these agencies. Unfortunately, there are far too many examples of religions falling to the level of barren ritualism, of journalistic activities originally started under good auspices pandering to crude sensationalism, of schools and colleges degenerating into machines for cramming examinees. Thus religion, public opinion or educational agencies may be instruments for either good or evil. They are not necessarily uplifting, and cannot create values by themselves.

In the same way ideas also may be powerful influences for good or for evil. People have been known to die for ideas. For aught I know, people have more killed for ideas than died for them. Ideas, as such, are therefore not on a higher level than other social forces. The very idea of equality has been responsible for much oppression. It has also supplied a most powerful urge towards the improvement of social conditions. Its significance for progress again depends on the sense of value of individuals.

Equality is not to be interpreted as identity in the possession of material goods, however necessary and important their possession might be for the enjoyment of opportunities for the development of human capacities. Economic equality, as preached by the Utopian or the doctrinaire, cannot be accepted as the only tenet of distributive justice in so far as it ignores a fact of supreme importance, namely, differences in individual aptitudes.

In case innate gifts had been distributed equally between all individuals, the case for an equal distribution of all material wealth would have been irresistible. The fact appears to be, however, that innate gifts are neither distributed equally among different individuals nor at random among different classes. This has been made the basis of an attack on the equalitarian doctrine in recent times. But the attempts to

prove the innate superiority of one race over all others cannot be considered to be scientifically established. A race inferior in certain traits may easily be found to be superior in other desirable traits. Yet the biological residuum of fundamental inequality between individuals, and probably also between certain economic classes, remain an open challenge to the idea of equality. The strictly scientific findings of Eugenists are (1) that innate group-differences exist, but they are small, (2) that differences obtaining between individuals of the same group are usually greater than those subsisting between different groups, and (3) that such differences correspond, roughly, (at least in certain sections of English and American societies) to differences in social status. Cyril Burt writes: "the main conclusion that can be drawn from experimental work is, I think, the following: innate group differences exist, but they are small". In this connection, Carr-Saunders remarks: "if opportunity was equal for all, if social acquirements counted for nothing, and if examination tests were rigorously imposed, we might expect to find greater intellectual differences between the members of professions and other elements of the population than we do find inspite of the fact that such tests sort out emotional as well as intellectual qualities". Later on, the same authority states: "whether we consider racial groups large or small, or whether we consider the classes into which members of the same racial group fall, we find the differences between the average of one group compared with another are small. The differences are small relative to the vast differences which exist between members of the same community. Innate differences therefore are not distributed at random throughout the population." The above conclusions are supported by the fact that there exists a positive correlation between the distribution of mental gifts and the social distribution of individuals according to rank and position in English and American societies. It also appears to be a fact that inspite of increasing educational facilities offered by enlightened states to the labouring classes in the 19th century, their contribution to the production of men of first-rate abilities has been proportionally less than that of the

middle or higher classes. "Passing from the bottom of a social pyramid to its apex we see a systematic increase of the number of men of genius—an absolute as well as a relative increase." If it is true, as is claimed to have been established by rigorous analysis, 'the higher social classes are more intelligent than the lower ones', then the right relation between the idea of social and economic equality and progress would appear to be what has been indicated by Karl Pearson:¹ "Let there be a ladder from class to class and occupation to occupation, but let it not be an easy ladder to climb; great ability (as Faraday's) will get up, and that is all that is socially advantageous. The gradation of the body social is not a historical anomaly; it is largely the result of long continued selection, economically differentiating the community into classes roughly fitted to certain types of work."

The basic problem of equality is thus concerned with the desire for an equal distribution of wealth fostered by a natural reaction against exploitation of one group by another, and the fact of inequality in the distribution of innate gifts. The problem can be resolved only by the provision of proportional opportunities, on the one hand, and by the recognition of Personality as an important element in the determination of social justice, on the other. It is quite clear that economic inequality cannot be accepted as the only tenet of distributive justice in so far as it ignores differences in abilities. But it is equally clear that the concentration of the greater part of material wealth in the hands of the upper classes cannot be supported by any sort of engenic consideration. The present inequalities of income are *not* based on hereditary difference—this is the cardinal fact of modern industrialized societies. The present inequalities in political privileges are not warranted by racial differences—this is the cardinal fact about the present political situation.

The programme of socialism to do away with such class or national differences in the distribution of wealth appears to be based on sound principles.

¹ National Life from the Standpoint of Science.

But in so far as individual (as opposed to class) differences are concerned, the principle of equal division cannot be considered fair. Emotional and temperamental qualities although not yet successfully measured by the psychologist are as likely to show as large individual differences as intellectual and other abilities. For this reason as well as on account of the known large differences in abilities, the possession of the same amount (and quality) of material goods (above the level of the subsistence minimum) must yield different amounts of enjoyment to different individuals and is consequently valued differently.

One important point may be noted at once. Recent advances in biological knowledge are equivocal in certain ways. One line of advance has been towards a greater insistence on the role of the germ-plasm, which is supposed to be the receptacle of all possibilities of growth. From this point of view, heredity is the most important factor of all. On the other hand the study of conditioned reflexes by Pavlov and his disciples, and the striking results obtained by the Behaviorist school show that rational training may become all important. One thing, however, is clear. Changes in the germ-plasm whether to be brought about by natural and sexual selection, by complicated Mendelian segregation, by unconscious social selection through such agencies as war, disease, etc., or, finally, by conscious eugenic selection, would require enormous periods of time measured in hundreds and thousands of years. On the other hand social changes brought about by great personalities like Buddha and Asoka, Alexander and Napoleon, Lenin or Gandhi, become accomplished facts in a few breathless moments. Hence, in the supreme question of the development of Personality, greater emphasis is to be laid upon the social environment which is more amenable to control by voluntary agencies than upon the mechanical regulation of heredity.

In the absence of specific knowledge regarding the means of regulating the mechanism of heredity, it would be safer to give a fair chance to everyone by removing glaring iniquities and inequalities in the distribution of opportunities. Which chances are to be given to which individuals is subsidiary to the main question that chances should be given to all." In

other words, the fundamental principles of Democracy, *viz.* political and economic equality, though not the only principle of social justice, must be given precedence over all others. The innate differences, if they are obdurate, will not be effaced by the provision of political and economic opportunities for all, and will come out in the long run. Further, the existing organs of government, public opinion, religion, and educational institutions are so much under the control of vested interests and dominated by inertia that there is no prospect in the near future of eugenic or social or vocational survey of population (however desirable such a survey may be) being undertaken on strictly scientific, that is, non-selfish and disinterested principles. The most practical course would therefore appear to be to press for the removal of the existing class-barriers.

The removal of class-barriers and class inequalities will allow social selection (if there is any virtue in it, which I deny) to make itself felt. If social selection does not manifest itself, and in case a scientific survey of inherent abilities becomes possible, we may set about to distribute opportunities according to individual talents.

If no such survey can be held, or after a survey it is found impossible either to measure the eugenic differences, or to distribute opportunities according to such differences it will still be wise to allow the idea of equality free play in society. From the point of view of what is known as social psychology, the desire for equality expresses a sub-conscious desire of the human mind. Whatever may be the explanation (psycho-analytic, psychonic, endocrinological or otherwise) of the origin of this idea of equality, the fact that all men hope to see this dream realized cannot be ignored. The idea of equality, it may be safely asserted, is at least as real and as potent as any other faith or myth. It is the only consolation of the weak and the only hope of the dispossessed.

Natural rights, as such, have already entered into the ideology of the politically minded Indian. Tilak's famous phrase, 'freedom is the birth right of every Indian' has already made history in India. The insistent demand for complete independence gathers strength from the belief in the idea of

equality. These concepts have become charged with emotion. To become forces, they must however be externalized into social behaviour. But if the individual valuation is inadequate they will remain barren.

The above discussion shows that capacities, though various, are more approximate in their urgent need of expression for development than is generally supposed. The modes of expression are various. That different potentialities require different environmental stimuli for adequate response is a fact which must ultimately become important for the equitable distribution of opportunities. But what is important at the present time is that in order to bring about those conditions in which every individual will receive an adequate stimulus from the proper environment for his development, we should try to break up as quickly as possible all class barriers with their glaring inequalities artificially bolstered up by interested people.

The inequality which people have been made to feel most and have protested most against is that imposed by one group over another. Individual tyranny has been much more easily tolerated. In Europe, dictators and tyrants have alternated with democracies and republics. The Asiatic people have never objected to an autocratic ruler of the benevolent type. Leadership of great individuals has always been rather liked by them. But when power is grasped by a group, and is sought to be perpetuated by claims of the intrinsic superiority of one group over another, the human spirit rises in revolt. The individual man has always recognized, even if unconsciously, the fact that group tyranny is most inimical to the development of his personality.

In the existing close and artificial social atmosphere, especially in India, the individual has very little opportunity of developing his personality. At best, he can merge himself into a stagnant group-existence. This has almost always been disastrous for social progress. Owing to the demand of the group (family, clan, caste, etc.) upon the individual to merge his existence in that of the group, and owing to improper recognition and interested interpretations of the purpose of group-

life by the more numerous members of the group, stimuli offered by the group are not adequate for the varying capacities or responses of the individuals. The group demands and creates dead levels.

Progress requires the growth of personality, and it is the task of social justice to remove all restrictions which hamper the development of personality. Herein lies the value of the idea of equality, for it emphasizes the need of providing adequate environmental stimuli to enable potential capacities to develop. If the actual response is small, even then something will have been achieved by the removal of repressions. If the response is large the whole of society is benefited. Rightly understood, equality is not only a valuable instrument of social justice, but is a necessary and fundamental condition of social progress.

MEETING OF THE EAST AND WEST.

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

[Under the auspices of the Discussion Guild and the Indian Society of America, Rabindranath Tagore was given a reception on December 1, 1930, at Carnegie Hall, New York.

Extending welcome to the Poet, on behalf of the Discussion Guild and the Indian Society of America, Mr. M. S. Novik in course of his speech said :—

“It is indeed a pleasure to welcome you all here to-night. We are aware of the honour and the privilege which is ours and were indeed proud to act as platform hosts to the beloved poet of the Far East.

“We are starting a few minutes late only because we were trying our utmost to take in as many people as is humanly possible within the walls of Carnegie Hall. It ought to be said, and I hope it brings comfort to the Poet, and to all friends of India, that there are just as many people trying their utmost to get in, but we have fire rules, and they must be lived up to.

“We have invited the most outstanding woman connected with a University in the United States, and we are fortunate, indeed it is a privilege for us to have as presiding officer one who certainly can be called the Dean of the University women of America, the President of Mount Holyoke College. It is a pleasure to present to you as presiding officer, President Mary E. Woolley.”

President Mary E. Woolley said :—

“Mr. Chairman, Dr. Tagore, and the members of this audience, I am sure that our guest of the evening needs no introduction. I feel that he hardly needs word of welcome. The fact that so many hundreds of people are delighted to have this opportunity to pay their respect to a man who holds the respect of the world at large is in itself the greatest of welcomes.

“It is very difficult to select any phase of the work of our guest, especially to emphasize any one phase. He has done so much in so many different ways. Surely no one has done more, or is doing more, to help in solving India's problem than our friend here to-night. He

has emphasized in his educational work the importance of the individual. And he has emphasized the ideal of peace.

"More than twenty-five years ago he started in far-off India a school for children, of which I think many of us (who are but 'children of a larger growth') would have been glad to have been a part. Because the theory underlying that education was the development of the individual child by giving to him the freedom to grow. He had no sympathy with machine-made lessons. And consequently in the Poet's Institution, lessons are given under the shade of trees, in the living presence of nature; plays are acted, there is dancing, there are songs of the spring, songs of the rain, which are composed and set to music by the Poet himself for such festive occasions.

"Freedom and progress were the two educational watch-words in that school. There was an atmosphere of culture. Learned men who could give much came to talk to and interest the children. There was freedom also, as far as caste and race and nationality were concerned. And liberty, the spirit of liberty was in their lives.

"But that school for the children has grown into something very much more significant even than that group, with all the joy in living and the joy in thinking, and the impressions that arose from the things of beauty by which they were surrounded. Soon there will be the tenth anniversary of the University which was established as the outgrowth of the smaller school. It is a cultural meeting place between the East and the West, and its object is 'to study the mind in its realization of the different aspects of peace from diverse points of view, and to bring into more intimate relations with one another the different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity; to approach the west from the point of view of such a unity of life, to seek to realize in Asia a common fellowship of study, and the meeting of the East and the West and thus ultimately to strengthen the fundamental conditions of world peace through the free communication of ideas between the two hemispheres.'

"Truly a cultural meeting place between the East and the West. And I suspect that if you and I were to visit that International University, we should find many things that would be surprising from the practical side as well as the idealistic side. There are, for example, experimental farms with growing vegetables; there are spinning-wheels, looms and work along other practical lines. A practical visionary at

work. I sometimes wonder whether the real visionary, that is, the man with vision, is not after all the most practical of all human beings. A practical visionary at work. From dreamland to reality, for in this effort to build up a school, a University representing Indian culture at its highest, it was thought well to develop the practical as well as the ideal. An institution based upon the ideal of spiritual unity of all races. That is the underlying thought.

“And so to-night I have the honour to present to this great audience our visitor, our guest, who needs no introduction. Rather it is for this audience to welcome our guest of honour and our speaker,—a man who is poet and philosopher, teacher and friend of humanity: Rabindranath Tagore, who is going to speak to us on the Meeting of the East and the West.”

The speech of Rabindranath Tagore is given below.]

I have felt the meeting of the East and the West in my own individual life. I belong to the latter end of the Nineteenth Century. And to our remote country in Bengal, when I was a boy, there came a voice from across the sea. I listened to it. It would be difficult to imagine what it meant for me in those days. We realized the great heroic ideal which had been held in Ancient Greece and that art which gave expression to its greatness. I was deeply stirred, and felt as if I had discovered a new planet on the horizon.

THE MESSAGE OF THE WEST IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

It was the same feeling which I had when I listened to those in my family who recited verses from English literature and from the great poets of those days. Then also I felt as if a new prophet of the human world had been revealed to my mind.

You all know it was the last vanishing twilight of the Romantic West. We had been living in the atmosphere of the lyrical literature of poets like Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, and we know what inspiration they had within them. And what it was for the rest of the world. There was an upheaval of

idealism. In Europe, the French Revolution had not died out, and people were dreaming of freedom, of the brotherhood of man. They still believed in the human ideals that have their permanent value, ultimate value in themselves. And it moved my heart. I cannot express how it did move my soul.

I remember as a boy how a friend who had just read a poem came running to me in the night when I was asleep and awakened me, saying, "Have you read this?" And he recited the lines to me, and it stirred us deeply. It was that atmosphere, that human aspect of the Western civilization which appealed to us. It was the humanity of the West. It was not anything mechanical; it did not represent any physical or material quality. Ah, no. It was the message from the heart of the West that touched us deeply.

The West at that time believed in freedom of personality. We heard about Garibaldi, about Mazzini, and it was a new revelation, an aspect of humanity with which we were not quite familiar—the great ideal of the freedom of man, freedom of self expression for all races and for all countries. And we had great reverence for the people who were dedicated to that dream, through their literature, and also through their practical life.

THE MODERN WEST.

I may tell you what I think is the characteristic difference to-day between the East and the West. We, in the East, believe in personality. In the West you have your admiration for power.

Whenever our heart is touched with something that is perfect in human nature, in its completeness, in the spiritual aspect of it, we bow our heads before it. We have a feeling of reverence for the divine in man. And I thought that this human aspect of civilization, which I saw and which I realized in the West when I was young, was something permanent that would help to save the whole world.

There are times when some particular people play the part of messengers of humanity. They come to rescue human

relations from all kinds of fetters of ignorance or moral degradation and despair and weakness of will. We thought the present age belonged to the West, that they had come to save us, to save the whole world from all forms of weakness and which still remains inexhaustible. All these great revelations of history. We knew what India herself had done in olden times. We knew what Greece had offered to humanity and which still remains inexhaustible. All these great civilizations had the effect of redeeming the minds of men from fetters and narrowness, from sluggishness and stupidity.

It is evident that this modern age can belong to the West. You have the illumination, and we have been waiting for long that it should reach us in the East. And we hoped that you would come to us with a message which was universal, which had nothing provincial or exclusively national in it, and in a language that was not ashamed to have itself surrounded by an atmosphere of beauty,—a beauty that had a universal appeal.

And I say as an individual that the West and the East did meet in India in my younger days. But how short was that twilight of a vanishing age, of chivalry, of idealism higher and greater than one's nationality. That age came to an end, and you know, in what a great clash and conflagration of war and misery all over the world.

~ THE MENACE OF POWER.

And what is the harvest of your civilization? You do not see from the outside. You do not realize what a terrible menace you have become to man. We are afraid of you. And everywhere people are suspicious of each other. All the great countries of the West are preparing for war, for some great work of desolation that will spread poison all over the world. And this poison is within their own selves. They try, and try to find some solution, but they do not succeed, because they have lost their faith in the personality of man.

They do not believe in the wisdom of the soul. Their minds are filled with mutual suspicion and hatred and anger,

and yet they try to invent some machinery which will solve the difficulties. They ask for disarmament, but it cannot be had from the outside. They have efficiency, but that alone does not help. Why? Because man is human, while machinery is impersonal. Men of power have efficiency in outward things; but the personality of man is lost. You do not feel it, the divine in man, the divinity which is in humanity.

I have felt it, and I have said to myself, I have repeated that song: "Where shall I find him? Man the Great? The Supreme Man?" Not in the machinery of power and wealth shall I find the humanity of the world. If he is not in the heart of a civilization, where is he? The great man, the harvester, the music-maker, the dreamer of dreams, where is he?

Almost every day I feel my heart go back to my own country, to the personal, the dreamer, the believer in God. I seek Him, and I want to go back to my own country. I have my school there. Do not think that it is an ordinary school. I enjoy the wealth of human relationship there. Those boys and girls, they are my children. There is something that is indescribable in that school. Our relationship is spiritual—and I may not merit it, but I know that they do reverence *Man* in my own person; not the schoolmaster, but something higher than that. It is not superstition. In the East we believe in personality which is above all things.

You fight against evil, and that is a great thing. I often think you should come to help us fight all those difficulties, those material evils, from which we suffer. We have been praying for centuries, that the West would really come to us, that their chivalry would help us in our trouble. We are unfortunate. We have much need, for our injuries are great. We had formerly our own system of education—that has vanished. We had our industries to help to eke out the income of those dependent upon agriculture for their livelihood, but all those industries have vanished like the autumn leaves. And we pray that the West would come to us as a member of a common humanity. We claim it from you who have wealth

which is overflowing, and we are in the direst and deepest shadow of poverty and distress on our side of the world.

GANDHIJI'S SPIRITUAL POWER.

We have been waiting for the Person. Such a personality as we see in Mahatma Gandhi (applause). It is only possible in the East for such a man to become a great personality. He has neither physical nor material power, but through his great influence people who have been in subjection to all kinds of tyrannical power have stood up; and he is the strongest spiritual power in this world to-day. Not because of his political prudence, but for his spiritual influence the people believe in him, and they are ready to die for their faith. They are ready to suffer. It is a miracle that these people, downtrodden for centuries, are coming out, and without doing any injury to others, they suffer and through suffering, conquer.

And our women,—only the other day they were secluded in their own inner apartments—they have come out to follow this man, this leader. Not an association, not an organization, not a politician, but a Man! And his message goes deep into our veins. He attacks the enemies that are within us. Not like the political machinery which you have that attacks from the outside and that tries to work through the external. But he attacks the inner man. They believe in him, in this man who is not a Brahmin, for he belongs to a class of money-makers who have been despised for centuries.

PERSONALITY IN HUMAN HISTORY.

When times were dark, there came a Man in other days to people who were seeking salvation, emancipation from evil. He came to their door. The babe who was born centuries ago, brought exaltation to man. Not machinery, not association, not organizations, but a human babe, and people were amazed. And when all the machinery will be rusted, he will live.

I have felt that the civilization of the West to-day has its law and order, but no personality. It has come to the perfec-

tion of a mechanical order but what is there to humanize it? It is the Person who is in the heart of all beings. When you follow the atoms, you come to something which has no form, no color. It is all abstraction; it is reduced to some mathematical formulæ. But Personality goes beyond the heart of these atoms. I have seen, I have known it within me, in the depths of my feeling. And I know that only when you come to Him will there be peace.

[Mr. Novik said: "The Poet feels that he has given his message to us. I wondered as I sat here what he would feel from this audience if each one of us were able to speak to him and to tell him what his message has meant to us. Probably for many of us there will be new inspiration in our individual living. After all, what we shall be as persons depends not upon chance but upon ourselves. And I think new inspiration has come to us in these moments.

"And may be as he goes back to the East, he will carry our message to India, our hope that the day is not far distant when the East and the West shall meet indeed, when each may contribute to the common good of humanity."]

VEDIC INTERPRETATION AND TRADITION*

By VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ नमो वेदविदे च वेदान्तकृते च ॥

॥ नमः परमर्षिभ्यो वेदविद्याप्रवर्तकेभ्यः ॥

॥ नमः श्रोतृजनेभ्यश्च सुहृज्जनेभ्यश्च ॥

In this paper I have approached some of the fundamental problems in the interpretation of the Veda with special reference to those who hold it as an inspired and a sacred heritage, and find it a great source of peace and happiness in their lives.

Let me begin with a short apologue which has been handed down by the Rishis :

विद्या ह वै ब्राह्मणमाजगाम ।

गोपाय मा शेषधिस्तेऽहमस्मि ॥

—*Samhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, 3.

‘Verily Vidyā (the Vedic Lore) approached the Brahman thus :
“Protect me, I am your treasure.”’

The Brahman realized it, and undertook to protect her. He was also duty-bound to do so, for he knew the old injunction : ‘When a man is born, he is born with a debt (to pay)—a debt to the Gods, a debt to the Rishis, and to the Fathers, and to Mankind.’ (ŚB, 1. 7. 2. 1 ; See TB, VI. 3. 10. 5). He must free himself of his debt to the Gods, the Rishis, as well as to the rest. So far as his other debts are concerned, the scriptures teach him how to repay them. His debt to the Rishis can only be repaid, as they declare, by becoming their ‘Treasure-warden’ (*nidhi-gopa*), by protecting the treasure ; in plain words, by continuing the study of the Veda.

*Presidential Address in the Vedic Section of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, December, 1930.

Whatever might be our attitude towards life and culture, it has got to be admitted that the Veda is really a treasure, a treasure not only for the Brahman, but also for the humanity at large, a most precious inheritance of the past. And it is specially so for us Indians, as it is the ultimate source, directly or indirectly, of whatever we have thought about and striven for the peace and happiness of man and the universe during the whole course of our existence as a people.

Let me, however, strike a note of warning, and I think that the ancient teachers will lend me their support when I do so. The treasure must not be confounded with its receptacle: we should know that the *ādhāra* is generally of a different material and character from the *ādheya*. The gems of truth are ensconced in the entire mass of the Veda. The Greek proverb says that the part is greater than the whole. Yet the *whole* has its value and its justification—as a fact of history and as an influence on life when it is an influence. Human Society is a chequered pattern, and we have wise men and foolish men, we have saints as well as sinners. What we may be tempted to regard as useless may have its use with others. And we must take note of it.

Be that as it may, I was telling you the story of Vidyā. Let me continue it. The Brahman undertook to protect her. But has he done so? If so, how far has he succeeded? Did the Vedic tradition remain unbroken? If it did not, how long then did it continue? I want to tell you another story. Fifty years ago it was first told by Max Müller in one of his Hibbert Lectures,¹ and I think it is worth repeating, even though it may be a little long.

“These men,” continues the great savant referring to the Brahmans of his time, “and I know it as a fact, know the whole of Rig-Veda by heart, just as their ancestors did, three or four thousand years ago; and though they have MSS., and though they now have a printed text, they do not learn their sacred lore from them. They learn it, as their ancestors learnt it, thousands of years ago, from the mouth of a teacher, so that the Vedic succession should never be broken. The oral teaching and learning became in eyes of the Brahmans one of the ‘Great Sacrifices’.....I have had visits from natives who knew large portions of the Veda by heart; I have been in correspondence with others who, when they were twelve or

¹ *Collected Works of Max Müller, Lectures on the Origin of Religion*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1898, pp. 132 ff.

fifteen years old, could repeat the whole of it.² They learn a few lines every day, repeat them for hours, so that the whole house resounds with the noise and they thus strengthen their memory to that degree, that when their apprenticeship is finished, you can open them like a book ; and find any passage you like, any word, any accent. One native scholar, Shankar Pandurang, is at the present moment collecting various readings for my edition of the Rig-Veda, not from MSS., but from the oral tradition of the Vedic Śrotriyas. He writes on the 2nd March, 1877 ; 'I am collecting a few of our walking Rig-Veda MSS., taking your text as the basis. I find a good many differences which I shall soon be able to examine more closely, when I may be able to say whether they are various readings or not. . . . As I write a Vedic scholar is going over your Rig-Veda text. He has his own MSS. on one side, but does not open it, except occasionally. He knows the whole Samhitā and Pada text by heart. I wish I could send you his photograph, how he is squatting in my tent with his Upavīta (the Sacred Cord) round his shoulder, and only a Dhoti round his middle, not a bad specimen of our old Rishis'.

"And though it may have sounded to some of you like a fairy-tale, believe me, it is truer in all its details than many a chapter of contemporary history."

This story depicts the condition of the Vedic studies by the Brahman fifty years back ; and I can tell you that even at the present time you will find, mostly in the South, such half-naked Brahmans (their race—a race of giants—is, alas, declining every day), repeating the sacred hymns handed down to them from generation to generation and saying those prayers which were first uttered thousands of years ago on the banks of the Sarasvatī or some other sacred river by Rishis like Vasiṣṭha or Viśvāmitra—the Rishis who stand at the head of Indian Culture, but who in the hands of unsympathetic though "ingenius and judicious" experts on Indian culture received, together with their gods, the sobriquet of "barbarians".

You are now to draw your own conclusion as to whether the Vedic succession or tradition was completely broken at the time of Yāska, or of Sāyaṇa, or whether it continued unimpaired down to a generation back,—since when, owing to altering conditions and ideas of life, it has suffered a

² *Indian Antiquary*, 1878, p. 40 : 'There are thousands of Brahmans' the editor remarks, 'who know the whole of the Rig-Veda by heart and can repeat it.'

check ; and it was lucky that we could save some of it through the printing press.

Here naturally arises a question. The request of Vidyā to the Brahman was for her protection. This certainly did not mean protection of only the text in which she was enshrined, but also of the interpretation in which dwells her soul. For the Brahman was enjoined not only to read, but also to understand the Veda (*adhyeyo jñeyas ca*), without looking forward to any earthly reward for it (*niṣkāraṇa*).

Now, so far as the text is concerned, it has been universally accepted as having been preserved intact. The Brahman here has performed his task to perfection. But what about the interpretation?

In order to understand the situation in the matter of the correct interpretation of the Veda-vidyā—the interpretation which was intended by the Rishi to whom the *mantra was revealed*—let us take note of the difficulties from the case of a living poet and his composition. We have here a living poet of world-wide fame, Rabindranath Tagore. Let us take one of his best known mystic poems, approach some of our best scholars and cultured men who have the requisite training in and feel for literature and are teachers of the subject, and ask them individually to interpret that particular poem. And what shall we see? We shall see that *nāsau munir yasya matam na bhinnam* ; there may be partial agreement here and there, there will never be entire agreement ; in fact, there will sure to be some disagreement. And yet it may be that none of the interpretations proposed by these eminent scholars is the right interpretation, that is, the interpretation which the poet himself had in his mind when he composed it. Supposing that these scholars and experts in literature went on in their own way, and each taught his own particular interpretation to his group of pupils, and these latter in their turn also taught their own pupils the interpretation received from their masters, we would have a series of traditional interpretations, each equally old. How can a man of a future generation judge these various traditions, or one tradition, as correct? How can it be maintained that the interpretation first offered by those prominent teachers was the right interpretation, simply because these teachers were eminent men, or because they were contemporaneous with the poet himself, or were associated with him?

A poet does not necessarily interpret his own poem, for he is not bound to do so ; nor is it his business. He composes a poem and there

ends his work. But he may give his interpretation if he pleases. Now, let us again think over another aspect of the question. Supposing that the poet explains at a time one of his poems to a particular individual. The latter perhaps does not fully comprehend, or comprehends the explanation fully, but does not remember the whole of it, and without any consideration of the fact of his forgetfulness he starts to explain the poem to the group around him, and from the group begins a school of tradition. Here we may ask a question: Will it be right to think that one who has received this tradition is justified in claiming that *his* is the right interpretation, because the line of succession he belongs to is directly connected with the composer of the poem? Will it be reasonable to hold that the direct connection with the author of the poem is itself a sufficient ground for the genuineness of the interpretation given to it?

There can be another situation to make the whole question further complicated. It may be that the poet himself explains one of his difficult poems to a person of superior culture, intelligence, and memory. This person retains the explanation perfectly well and hands it over to a second man, and the second man to a third man, and in this way another line of tradition grows up. But facts relating to the origin of this tradition, that it goes back to the poet himself and has been transmitted unimpaired, remain unknown. This interpretation, the only *right* one, is not noted down in any book for some generations, though passed traditionally, and then a late writer offers it, without mentioning its credentials. How are we to discriminate the genuineness of the tradition in a case like this?

Situations like the above are possible with a living poet; in fact, some of these cases have actually happened with the works of Rabindranath himself. It is quite conceivable that in the case of a Vedic poet, to whom a particular *mantra* was revealed or by whom it was 'visioned' (*dṛṣṭa*) thousands of years back, similar things have happened.

The difficulty of discrimination in this matter seems to have been noticed or anticipated even by a poet in the Rig-Veda itself (X.71.4), when he says:

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाच-

मुत त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।

'Even while seeing, one does not see Speech ; even while hearing, one does not hear it.'

And it is also quite clear from Yāska's observation (I.20) to the effect that there were Rishis who had intuitive insight into *dharma* (*sākṣātkṛta-dharman*), but the teachers of a subsequent age lost that intuition. And these later teachers who, according to a commentator, may be described as *śrutarṣis*, i.e., sages who derived their wisdom not directly as the earlier sages did, but from others, declined in the power of communicating instruction. This is quite natural on account of impermanence of human knowledge (*puruṣavidyānityatvāt*), as Yāska would express it.

This lowering of the high intellectual position, as time went on, brought in new view-points and new interpretations. And I may refer you, for instance, to the mystic hymn called *Asyavāmīya* in the Rig-Veda (I.164). It is found there, as you all know, how some of its stanzas have been interpreted in different ways in the commentary of Sāyaṇa. It is well-known that Sāyaṇa is not the author of *all* these interpretations, as it can very clearly be shown that in a number of cases his variant interpretations were current in the country hundreds of years before him. Let us take, as an example, the following stanza (32) of the same hymn:

य ईं चकार न सो अस्य वेद
य ईं ददर्श हिरुगिन्नु तस्मात् ।
स मातुर्योना पखीतो अन्त-
र्बहुप्रजा निर्ऋतिमा विवेश ॥

'He who made him knows not of him; [he is] verily out of sight now of him who saw him; he, enveloped within his mother's womb, with numerous progeny, entered into *nirṛti*'.¹

It is to be noted that the word *nirṛti* in the fourth line of the stanza has two meanings, 'calamity' and 'earth'. Now, what does the *mantra* mean? The opinion is divided. Some say, it implies that one having a number of children falls into calamity; while others are of opinion that it refers to the phenomenon of rain (*varṣakarman*). The former are the Parivrājakas or wandering religious mendicants, while the later are the Nairuktas or scholiasts. And both the views are mentioned by Yāska in his *Nirukta*, II.8.

Here is another mystic *mantra* from the Rig-Veda, IV.58.3:

¹ Whitney AV. Tr., IX.10.10, slightly modified.

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा
 द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
 त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो ररवीति
 महा देवो मर्त्यो आ विवेश ॥

'Four are his horns, three are his feet; his heads are two, and his hands are seven. Bound with a triple bond, the strong one (or the showerer of bounties) roars loudly ; the great god enters into mortals'.¹

Who is that great god? Some say, according to the *Nirukta-ṭīkā*, XIII. 7, he is *yajña*. The four horns are with reference to it four Vedas ; the three feet are the three *savanas* or pressing out of *soma*-juice at the three periods of the day ; the two heads are the two libations, introductory and concluding ; the seven hands are the seven metres ; 'bound with a triple bond' refers to three-fold scripture, *Mantra*, *Brāhmaṇa*, and *Kalpa*.

Others say, the great god is the sun: the four horns are the four directions or cardinal points (*diś*) ; three feet are the three Vedas (as, according to the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇ*, III.12.9.1., the movement of the sun is connected with the three Vedas: *Vedair aśūnyas tribhir eti sūryaḥ*) ; the two heads are the day and night ; the seven hands are the seven rays of the sun ; 'bound with a triple bond' refers either to the three regions (terrestrial, atmospheric, and celestial), or to the three seasons (hot, rainy, and winter).

I want to refer you to one more explanation of the above passage which the great Patañjali, the commentator of Pāṇini (1.i.i.) gives. He explains it with reference to speech (*śabda*) from the point of view of the grammarians. He says that the great god is speech ; the four horns are the four kinds of the words, *viz.*, noun (*nāman*), verb (*ākhyāta*), preposition (*upasarga*), and particle (*nipāta*) ; the three feet are the three times, present, past, and future ; the two heads are the two forms of speech, eternal and artificial ; the seven hands are seven case-endings (*vibhaktis*) ; the triple bond signifies the connection of a word when it is uttered with the three parts of the body, the chest, the throat, and the head.

And if you want to know the observation of Sāyaṇācārya, he would tell you that other explanations are also possible here.

¹ Griffith (modified).

I should like to quote here one more *mantra* from the same *Asyavāmīya Sūkta* (RV, I.164.45) :

चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि
तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति
तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

'Speech hath been measured out in four divisions: the Brahmins who have understanding know them. Three kept in close concealment, they do not move. Of speech men speak only the fourth division.'

Now, what are these four divisions of speech? Look into the *Supplement to the Nirukta* (XIII. 9), and into *Sāyaṇa*, and you will find not less than seven interpretations, according to different schools, to one of which belongs the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, *Patañjali*, explaining the stanza himself (I. 1. 1.).

Apart from the explanation of different Vedic passages great divergency is found also with regard to particular points; for instance, the identity of the *Aśvins*—a question which is still being discussed. *Yāska* himself raises it and gives his answer (XII.1): "But who are the *Aśvins*? Some say 'heaven and earth'; 'day and night' say others; while others say, they are the sun and the moon. But according to the *Aitihāsikas*, they are virtuous kings."

Not less than eight or nine schools of older expounders of the *Veda*, such as the *Yājñikas*, the *Vaiyākaraṇas*, the *Naidānas*, the *Parivrājakas*, the *Nairuktas*, and so on, are mentioned by *Yāska*, besides more than one and half a dozen of teachers holding different views with regard to particular points in the Vedic texts.

There is no reason to think that the interpretations offered by them are always without authority. For instance, the identity of the *Aśvins* with heaven and earth referred to above is actually found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV. 1. 5. 16; and it may be noted that the derivation of the word *Aśvin* as given by *Yāska* is also fully supported by the same passage of that work.

Many interpretations, whether right or wrong, reasonable or fanciful, which are found in the *Nirukta*, are based on some passage or passages

¹ Griffith (modified).

in a *Brāhmaṇa*. For instance, one may be referred to the derivation of the word *Vṛtra* (*Nirukta*, II. 17). It is also to be noted that in *Brāhmaṇas*, too, the same diverse explanations also occur.

All the above explanations, in their bewildering diversity, are traditional ones. But here arises a question: Are all of them without exception true explanations, simply because they are traditional? The true explanation that intended by the author or the Rishi himself can only be one. The doctrine of Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahmasūtras* can only be one, and this may be either *dvaita*, or *advaita*, or *viśiṣṭādvaita*, or *dvaitādvaita*, or something else; but in no case it can be equally *all* of them. One may, however, try to find out a conclusion that may somehow or other reconcile all the different views. But can one say that this reconciliation, or *samanvaya*, was intended by Bādarāyaṇa himself? It may or may not be so, but there is no way to find it out. All that can be said with certainty in this connection is that this attempt at reconciling the conflicting schools is the aim more of the scholars who are for this reconciliation than of Bādarāyaṇa himself. But we are not concerned with it, we want to know what the original author himself actually intended to say. But is it possible to do so under the circumstances described above? It is exceedingly unlikely that that can be done; but nevertheless, we should try to get as near to the truth as possible.

Here the Nairuktas offer us something to go by. Having explained one of the stanzas of that mystic hymn, the *Asyavāmīya Sūkta*, already referred to (RV. I. 164.39), in three different ways, *viz.*, with reference to *devatā*, to *yajña*, and to *ātman*, the author of the *Supplement to Nirukta* (XIII.11) observes:

अयं मन्त्रार्थाभ्यूहोऽभ्यूहोऽपि श्रुतितोऽपि तर्कतः ।

'This reflective deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of oral tradition as well as reasoning.'

न तु पृथक्त्वेन मन्त्रा निर्वक्तव्याः । प्रकरणश एव निर्वक्तव्याः ।

'The hymns are not to be interpreted as isolated texts, but according to their context.'

न ह्येषु प्रत्यक्षमस्त्यनृषेरतपसो वा ।

'For, a person, who is not a Rishi, or who is without severe meditation, has no intuitive insight into them (*mantras*).'

पारोर्व्यवित्सु तु खलु वेदितृषु भूयोविद्यः प्रशस्यो भवतीत्युक्तं पुरस्तात् ।

'It has already been said (*Nirukta* I. 16) that among those who are versed in tradition, he who is most learned deserves special commendation.'¹

The author then proceeds to show the importance of reasoning in the following passage quoted from a Brāhmaṇa :

मनुष्या वा ऋषिषूक्तामत्सु देवानब्रुवन् को न ऋषिर्भविष्यतीति । तेभ्य ।
एतं तर्कमृषिं प्रायच्छन् मन्त्रार्थचिन्ताभ्यूहमभ्यूढम् । तस्माद् यदेव किञ्चान्-
चानोऽभ्यूहत्याषं तद् भवति ।

'Verily when the Rishis were passing away, men inquired of the gods, "Who shall be our Rishi?" They gave them this science of reasoning as Rishi (*tarkam ṛṣim*)² for consideration of the sense of the hymns. Therefore whatever is decided by a man well-versed in the Veda becomes *ārṣa* or derived from a Rishi.'

It is then clear from the above that in order to understand the significance of the Veda our traditional method regards these three things as essential: (1) *śruti*, oral tradition from the mouth of a competent *Ācārya*, or from repositories of traditions, such as the *Brāhmaṇas*; (2) *tarka* or reasoning; and (3) *tapas*; which I think ought to be translated in such cases, as Muir has already done, as 'severe meditation.'³ Of course, it is understood that the essential preparatory knowledge of the six *Vedāṅgas* or supplementary Veda sciences (*viz.*, phonetics, grammar, science of language, metrics, astronomy, and ritual), have been already acquired.

The above method will meet with the fullest approval of the modern 'scientific' investigator, who has practically nothing more to add, excepting a study of the culture of the age from a historical and comparative

¹ Translations mostly by Muir.

² This reminds one of the following words of the Buddha in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (VI. 1): 'Now the Exalted one addressed the venerable Ānanda and said: It may be Ānanda that in some of you the thought may arise "The word of the Master is ended, we have no Teacher more!..... The Truths and the Rules of the Order, which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher of you".' We may also recall the story of the last Sikh *Guru* Govind Singh declaring that after his demise the Sikhs will have to obey the *Granth Sāhib* as their *Guru*.

³ In support of it the following may be quoted from the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (I. 1. 9): *Yasya jñānamayaṁ tapah*. See *Śaṅkara* on the *Praśnopaniṣad*, I. 4. Cf. the sense of *aikṣata* in the *Chāndogya Up.* VI. 2. 3.

standpoint. This includes the findings of Comparative Philology, Anthropology, Archaeology, Sociology and other human sciences.

The study and research proposed by the six *Vedāṅgas*, for instance, have been worked out in greater detail and with the help of modern appliances by Western scholars; and for this we ought to show our cordial appreciation as fellow-workers in a common field.

We have seen how great was the divergency among the teachers with regard to the Vedic interpretations. But this is a fact not exclusively peculiar to the Veda. The case is the same in all times and in all lands, in all the various branches of science. This diversity of explanations makes the original meaning extremely obscure, no doubt, but does it not also imply the growth and development of the science through the centuries? Growth and development are a sign of Life, and the ever-growing variety of expositions proposed by the different scholars and traditions indicates that the mind of the Brahman who took upon himself to protect the Vidyā has remained alert and active,—although it may be argued that the Vidyā has not been preserved in her original form everywhere, and that her proper form has been overlaid by later additions and possibly decorations. This sort of change is unavoidable, for change is the law of Life. But although the outward body changes, the inner being remains the same; only we shall have to strive to find it out in its proper form. Moreover, we must remember that great or noteworthy discrepancies occur with regard to a comparatively small number of hymns, while it can safely be asserted that there is complete agreement in most of the other cases. However, the net fact remains that there has been an unbroken series of commentators and exegesists from Yāska downwards. I may quote here the conclusion which Dr. Lakshman Sarup has arrived at (*Indices and Appendices to Nirukta*, Intro: pp. 75-76): 'It will also show that there have been numerous Pre-Sāyaṇa commentators of the Ṛg and other Vedas and an unbroken, uniform and continuous tradition of Vedic interpretation has been a common inheritance of the orthodox scholars. The current belief that Sāyaṇa is the only or the most important commentator after Yāska or that the tradition of Vedic interpretation was lost before the former's time is erroneous.' Other scholars like Professor Bhagavad Datta have come to the same conclusion from a study of both available commentaries and incomplete fragments.

With regard to the tradition I should like to put before you the following fact also. According to the Vedantists there are three courses

(*prasthāna-traya*) for ascertaining the meaning of Vedānta, viz., the *śruti-prasthāna* or the Course of the Vedic Texts, the *smṛti-prasthāna* or the Course of Tradition, and the *sūtra-prasthāna* or the Course of the Aphorisms (of Bādarāyaṇa). It follows from it that sometimes when the true meaning of a certain Vedantic text cannot be ascertained with the help of either *śruti* or *sūtra* it can be done with the help of the *smṛti*. And as such the *smṛti* cannot be neglected. And, I may suggest, this *smṛti-prasthāna* may be applied in the case of some of the Vedic texts, too, with conspicuous results. For instance, we read in the *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*, IX.2 (*Īśopaniṣad* 2):

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः ।

एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥

‘It is only performing karmas that one should desire to live here a hundred years. Thus it is in thee, and not otherwise than this. Karma does not affect (*liṇyate*, √*liṇ*) a man.’

Where is the explanation of this verse? Does it not remind one of the following couplet of the *smṛti*, the *Bhagavad-gītā* (IV. 14) together with the whole philosophy of karma expounded there?

न मां कर्माणि लिम्पन्ति न मे कर्मफले स्पृहा ।

इति मां योऽभिजानाति कर्मभिर्न स बध्यते ॥

‘Karmas do not affect (*limpanti*, √*liṇ*) me, nor have I any desire for the consequence of a karma. He who thus knoweth me is not bound by karmas.’

Let me take another example. The following stanza occurs in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Uṇ.*, IV.4.7, as well as in the *Kaṭha Uṇ.*, VI.14:

यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि स्थिताः ।

अथ मर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते ॥

‘When all the desires cease which were cherished in his heart, then the mortal becomes immortal, then here he attains to Brahman.’

Where do we get the fullest interpretation of it? Is it not the same *smṛti*, the *Bhagavad-gītā*, which having thoroughly discussed the topic repeats the same truth only in different words (II.71)?

विहाय कामान् यः सर्वान् पुमांश्चरति निःस्पृहः ।
निर्ममो निरहङ्कारः स शान्तिमधिगच्छति ॥

‘Whoso forsakes all desires and moves about free from yearnings and from the notion of ‘I am’ and ‘It is mine,’ he attains to peace.’

Or let us consider again. Is it not that the same truth ‘there is only one without the second’ which has found expression in Vedic texts,¹ has again appeared through the Upaniṣad in a much later work, the *Durgā-saptasatī* (included in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*) in the following couplet?

एकैवाहं जगत्यत्र द्वितीया का ममापरा ।
पश्येता दुष्ट मय्येव विशन्ति मद्विभूतयः ॥

‘I am only one in the universe. Who is other than me that can be regarded as second? See, O villain, my manifestations are entering into me.’

Here in the *smṛti* we have either a later development or expansion of an idea already expressed in the Veda; or it may be that the *smṛti* passages only enshrine a traditional interpretation of the Vedic passages.

This traditional relation between the Vedic and post-Vedic literatures is only too apparent to require any further discussion. The point is that the Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstras, and other *smṛtis* frequently help us in elucidating the Veda, and as such they are always deserving of respectful attention as repository of tradition,—they should much less be ignored, as is unfortunately the case in certain quarters among Vedic scholars both in India and in Europe. This is just like the later classical Sanskrit itself, with all its non-Vedic and so-called artificial character (which has earned for it the contumely of Veda-enthusiasts in Europe), helping a great deal in understanding at least to some extent the general sense of a Vedic text. Just as we acknowledge the common basis of both Vedic and classical Sanskrit, we should be equally alive to the common back-ground of both the Veda and the later literature. We may illustrate the point by a few instances. Even such popular works like the *Amarakośa* which are read in our Sanskrit Pāthāśālās by tender boys in their first year of Sanskrit give the meanings of a great number of Vedic words, though at times the original senses of some of them are found to have been modified. A

¹ For example, ‘There is only one Rudra and no second’—TS. I. 8.6.1; ‘The wise say one in various ways.’—RV. I. 164.46.

young Sanskrit scholar of even seven or eight (wherever the traditional method is followed), if asked, will at once reply that the Vedic words *Marutvat* 'accompanied by Maruts,' *Śakra* 'mighty,' *Śacīpati* 'lord of might,' *Satakratu* 'having a hundred powers,' *Vṛtrahan* 'Vṛtra-slayer,' *Purandara* for the actual word *Pūrbhid* 'fort-shatterer,' and *Vajrabhṛt* 'bearing the bolt,' mean Indra. He will at once tell you that *Vaiśvānara*, *Jātavedas*, *Tanūnapāt*, and *Āśusukṣaṇi*, all used in the Rig-Veda, are nothing but Agni 'fire'; and *Mātarīśvān* is Vāyu. Multiplication of instances is not needed. Here we have but a partial preservation of the Vedic tradition through school lexicons.

En passant I may mention here the views of the Mīmāṃsakas who may be included among the Yājñikas already referred to in connection with Vedic interpretation. I shall quote here only two passages from the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* illustrating the methods of the Mīmāṃsakas in interpreting the Veda. They certainly represent an old tradition and as such are entitled to the respect which Sāyaṇācārya and others are given. The first of them runs (TS.II.1.1.4.):

प्रजापतिर्वा इदमेक आसीत् । सोऽकामयत प्रजाः पशून् सृजेयेति । स
आत्मनो वषामुदन्विषदत् । तामग्नौ प्रागृह्णात् । ततोऽजस्तूपरः समभवत् । तं
स्वार्थं देवताया आलभत । ततो वै सः प्रजाः पशून्सृजत् ॥

'Verily here was Prajāpati alone. He desired: "May I create offspring and cattle." He took out (from his body) his omentum (*vapā*), and placed it in the fire. From that the hornless goat came into being. He offered it to its own deity. Then did he create offspring and cattle.'

This is explained as myth (possibly in his anxiety to establish an eternal connection between a word and its meaning) by Śaṅkarasvāmīn in his commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā-darśana*, I.1.10. He says that Prajāpati may refer here to an eternal object: (i) air, (ii) the sky, or (iii) the sun; the omentum may mean (i) rain, (ii) wind, or (iii) the rays of the sun; the fire implies (i) the fire of lightning (*vaidyuta*), or (ii) of the rays (*ārciṣa*), or (iii) of the terrestrial fire (*pārthiva*); and the word *aja* taken to mean 'a goat' signifies here (i) food (*anna*), or seed (*bīja*), or plant (*virudh*).

And here is the second passage (TS.VII.1.10. 2-3):

बबरः प्रावाहणिरकामयत वाचः प्रवदिता स्यामिति ।

The plain meaning is that Babara, a descendant of Pravāhaṇa desired that he might be a speaker of speech. But Śabarāsvāmin (I.1.31.) would explain it saying that there is no man known as Pravāhaṇa. Therefore there cannot be his descendant Prāvāhaṇi. The word is derived from *pra*+*√vah*+*i*, the suffix *i* is used to mean both a descendant as well as an agent ; thus any eternal object that makes one carry on a work is *Prāvāhaṇi*. And *Babara* is an onomatopoetic word.

I am speaking of the interpretations, and in this connection it seems to me that if we follow some of the remarks of Yāska, many an unexplained myth or allusion, and many a mystic or obscure, or doubtful passage will become perfectly clear. The following occurs in the Rig-Veda (X.51.9) :

तव प्रयाजा अनुयाजाश्च केवल
ऊर्जस्वन्तो हविषः सन्तु भागाः ।
तवाग्ने यज्ञोऽयमस्तु सर्व-
स्तुभ्यं नमन्तां प्रदिशश्चतस्रः ॥

‘The introductory and the concluding oblations are entirely thine ; let the juicy portions of the offerings be thine. Let this whole sacrifice be thine, O Agni, and let the four quarters bow before thee.’

Here it is quite clear that the introductory and concluding oblations belong to the deity, Agni. There can in no way be any doubt of it. Yet there are not less than six passages in different Brāhmaṇas referring to the above verse, of which only one says that the deity here is Agni, while according to the rest the deity concerned is *chandās* (metre), or *ṛtu* (season), or *paśu* (cattle), or *prāṇa* (breath), or *ātman* (soul). But why is here such wide difference? Is it due to the ignorance of the authors of the Brāhmaṇas? Yāska finds here a solution. And this solution proposed by him involves a fundamental principle in approaching Vedic passages of a similar character. He is quite right when he observes (VII.24) :

बहुभक्तिरादीनि ब्राह्मणानि भवन्ति ।

It means that the Brāhmaṇas have a great deal of *bhakti-vāda*. But what is *bhakti-vāda*? Here *bhakti* is *bhāga* ‘part’ or ‘portion’ (cf. *bhakti* in *svara-bhakti*), and *vāda* ‘statement’ ; thus *bhakti-vāda* literally means ‘a

statement of a part,' i.e., 'a statement only of a part of a thing and not of the whole of it.' For instance, if it is said *simho māṇavakaḥ* 'the lad is a lion,' it is to be understood that the lad is, so to say, *partly* a lion ; in other words, the lad has a *bhakti* or *bhāga*, i.e., 'part' of a lion, e.g., the bravery of a lion. The later word for *bhakti-vāda* is *guṇa-vāda* 'statement of quality,' generally translated by 'statement meant figuratively.' In the same example, 'the lad is a lion,' the speaker wants to express that the lad has the quality (*guṇa*), i.e., bravery, of a lion. Here both the lad and the lion having the common quality, bravery, are identified. In explaining *bhakti-vāda*, Durgācārya observes :

भक्तिर्नाम गुणकल्पना । येन केनचिद् गुणेन ब्राह्मणं सर्वं सर्वथा वर्णयति ।
तत्र तत्तमन्वेष्यम् ।

'*Bhakti* means imagination (or consideration) of quality by which a Brāhmaṇa describes all things in all kinds of ways. But the truth must be investigated there.'

Yāska gives here an example from a Brāhmaṇa: "The earth is Vaiśvānara, the year is Vaiśvānara, the Brahman is Vaiśvānara.' Here the author must have found some common quality (*sāmānya guṇa*) of the earth, etc., and Vaiśvānara, owing to which there is this identification. But what is that *guṇa*, or common *guṇa*? It is for the reader to find it out, if he can.

Now, with regard to those introductory and concluding oblations, Yāska remarks that it is the fixed decision (*sthiti*) that they belong to Agni. But what about the different statements of the Brāhmaṇas? It is mere *bhakti*, i.e., with reference to some common quality participated in both by Agni on the one hand and by *chandasa*, or *ṛtu*, or *paśu*, or *prāṇa*, or *ātman* on the other.

In this way such identification as that of sacrifice (*yajña*) with Viṣṇu, or with Prajāpati; or that of the year with Prajāpati, or Agni; or that of Agni with Prajāpati, and so on, becomes intelligible through *bhakti*. And this common quality may be more inherent or imaginary than apparent or real.

The following stanza of the previously discussed *Asyavāmīya sūkta* of the Rig-Veda (I.164.46) is well-known to you all :

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहु-
 रथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
 एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्-
 न्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिव्वानमाहुः ॥

‘They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni; and he is divine Garutmat with beautiful wings. The sages speak of that which is one in various ways: they call it Agni, Yama, and Mātariśvan.’

And similar statements in the same Veda are not wanting. For instance, we read (X.114.5) :

सुपर्णं विप्राः कवयो वचोभि-
 रेकं सन्तं बहुधा कल्पयन्ति ।

‘The wise poets describe by their words in various ways the bird (Sūparṇa) who is one.’

Yāska taking his stand on such ideas of the Rishis observes (VII. 4) ‘on account of the supereminence of the deity (*māhābhāgyād devatāyāḥ*) a single soul (*eka ātmā*) is praised in various ways (*bahudhā stūyate*).’

This view has been given expression in the Upaniṣads and other religious literature of the country. Thus there is no inconsistency with the Brāhmaṇa saying to the effect that Agni is all the deities (KB, XXV. I. 9; AB, V. 16), although, in fact, there is a great number of deities mentioned in the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas.

Passages like the above are clear indications of the fundamentally monistic character of the Vedic religion. Whenever we have the temptation of laying too much stress on the ‘polytheism’ of the Veda, we ought to think of the above and similar passage in the Brāhmaṇas and in Yāska and other old commentators.

I want to refer you to one more remark of Yāska. In the Rig-Veda (I. 89. 10) we have the following verse :

अदितिर्द्यौरदितिर्न्तरिक्ष-
 मदितिर्माता स पिता स पुत्रः ।
 विश्वे देवा अदितिः पञ्च जना
 अदितिर्जातमदितिर्जनित्वम् ॥

‘Aditi is heaven, Aditi is atmosphere, Aditi is the mother, she is the father, and she is the son. Aditi is all deities, Āditi five-classed men, Aditi all that hath been born, and Aditi all that shall be born.’

How is it that one is the heaven as well as the atmosphere? How is it that the same person is the father, the mother; and also the son? It would look very inconsistent. But let us hear what Yāska has to say in this connection. He says (I. 16) that such a statement is found also in ordinary speech (*laukikeṣv apy etat*). For example, one having drunk water says ‘I have got all kinds of flavour (*sarvarasā anuprāptāḥ pānīyam*). And he finally concludes (IV. 23), saying that the *vibhūti* (multifarious manifestation) of Aditi is mentioned here; Yāska has rightly caught the spirit of the verse quoted above which is to extol the greatness of the deity, Aditi.

If one takes such passages as the following (Atharva-Veda, X.10.26.34) which extol the cow (*vaśā*), in that line, there will remain nothing to complain of :

वशामेवामृतमाहुर्वशां मृत्युमुपासते ।

वशेदं सर्वमभवद् देवा मनुष्या असुराः पितर ऋषयः ॥

वशां देवा उपजीवन्ति वशां मनुष्या उत ।

वशेदं सर्वमभवद् यावत् सूर्यो विपश्यति ॥

AV, X. 10. 26, 34.

‘It is cow alone that they call immortality; they worship cow as death; the cow becomes this all—gods, men, Asuras, Fathers, and Seers.’

‘On the cow the gods subsist; on the cow, men also; the cow becomes this all; so far as the sun looks around.’¹

Such is, then, the rôle which *bhakti-vāda* plays, not only in the Brāhmaṇas, but also in the Mantras.

In interpreting the Veda, the findings of Indo-European Linguistics should in no way be neglected or under-estimated. But sometimes the philologist’s zeal carries him away a little too far, and leads him into a morass of a series of possibilities which one should always guard against. I think Comparative Philology and Tradition should be taken as mutual correctives. Unfortunately, however, the tradition, though supported by strong reason, is sacrificed at the altar of an insecure linguistic speculation. Let me give an example, and in so doing I should like to raise before you an

¹ Whitney.

old question which has already been discussed by eminent scholars. I mean the question of phallus worship in the Vedas. The only argument advanced in support of it lies in the word *śiśná-deva* used twice in the Rig-Veda (VII. 21. 5 ; X. 10.99). The traditional meaning of it is 'lustful': both Yāska and Sāyaṇa explaining it by *abrahmacarya*. There is no ground whatsoever to reject it. The word *deva* is used here in the figurative sense, it signifying 'like a deva.' And it is supported by a number of words compounded with *deva* as the last member. The following four words are well-known: *mātr-deva*, *pitṛ-deva*, *ācārya-deva*, and *atithi-deva*. Will it be reasonable to hold that a father-worshipper, a mother-worshipper, a teacher-worshipper, and a guest-worshipper are meant here respectively? The word *pitṛ-deva* simply means 'a person to whom the father is just like a deva'. Accordingly, the sentence in the Taittirīya Up. I. II. *pitṛ-devo bhava* implies that the father is to be revered just like a god. The remaining words, too, are to be explained in the same way. And this view is taken by the great Śaṅkarācārya saying with regard to them: *devatāvad upāsyā eta ity arthaḥ*: 'the meaning is, that they should be revered as gods'. Let us take another word of the same class, *śraddhā-deva* found in the Taittirīya-saṁhitā and in different Brāhmaṇas. What does it mean? The authors of the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* tell us, *Gott-vertrauend* 'trusting in god.' It can hardly be accepted, for the compound cannot be made after the manner of *bharad-vāja*, as in such cases the first member is a present participle. Nor can I understand how Egge-ling takes it (SB, I. 1. 4. 5.) to mean 'god-fearing'. The commentators generally explain it by *śraddhāvat* 'believing,' or *śraddhālu* 'disposed to believe'. The actual meaning is, however, shown by Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the TS, 7. 1. 8. 2, when he says: *śraddhā devo yasyāsau śraddhādevaḥ*: 'one whose deva (god) is śraddhā (trustfulness) is śraddhā-deva.' And then he adds: *yathā devatāyām ādāras tathā śraddhāyām ity arthaḥ*: 'as towards god, so is the respect towards trustfulness.'

This interpretation then decides the case of *śiśná-deva* implying a person who reveres his *śiśna* just like a god, or a man of lustful character, *abrahmacarya*, as Yāska would explain it.

The word in this sense may sound strange to a non-Indian reader, but Indians themselves are quite familiar with such expressions from the later Sanskrit literature. For instance, *śiśnodara-parāyaṇa*, which is the same as *śiśnodara-tṛp*, or *śiśnodaram-bhara*, all meaning nothing but 'one

addicted to lust and gluttony.' Mark here the use of *parāyaṇa*, literally meaning 'last resort or refuge,' as the second member of the first word. And compare its use in such words as *Nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇa* 'devoted to Nārāyaṇa', and *kāmakrodha-parāyaṇa* 'given over to lust and anger.'

It seems to me that sometimes too much importance is attached to modern philological interpretation utterly ignoring the traditional one. For instance, I may refer you to the well-known hymn to the so-called 'Unknown God,' RV, X. 121, with the refrain '*kāsmāi devāya havīṣā vidhema*'. It has been discussed from different points of view by a number of scholars. Some of them want to take here *kāsmāi* in the sense of 'to whom', as a form of the interrogative pronoun *ka* (or *kim*). I do not say that it can in no way be maintained. But I want to ask: What is the ground for rejecting the traditional meaning of the word here, which is Prajāpati? Why, as Sāyaṇa has done, *kāsmāi* is not to be construed supplying *tāsmāi*, as is often the case in the Rig-Veda¹ itself, when the relative pronoun *ya* (or *yad*) is used in the subordinate clause? That *ka* is identified with Prajāpati is found in different Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas. The main ground for this identification is, according to the Rishis of the Brāhmaṇas, that both the interrogative pronoun *ka* (or *kim*) and Prajāpati are *anirukta* 'not explained'; that is, as the interrogative pronoun means a thing or a person not known definitely, as 'this' and 'this-like' (*idam*, *īdṛk*), so is Prajāpati,—he cannot be described definitely, for such is his greatness. Considering the manner in which they express certain thoughts, as we have already seen in connection with the *bhakti-vāda*, this identification of *ka* with Prajāpati who is expressly mentioned in the last verse of the hymn seems quite natural and appropriate.

Too much reliance or emphasis on the derivative sense is a pitfall, especially when in a great many derivations we are still in a speculative stage. Let me give one or two examples. The following line occurs in the *Chāndogya Up.*, 4.17.10:

ब्रह्मैवैकं ऋत्विक् कुरुन्भवाभिरक्षति ।

Here the foremost scholars of the school of the philological interpretation, Böhtlingk and Roth, would not hesitate to explain *aśvā* saying *na-śvā*, *na* (or *a*) being taken in the sense of *sādrśya* 'likeness,' and thus the word meaning 'as a dog' ('wie ein Hund')! I suggest that *aśvā* here is only the instrumental singular of *aśva*.

¹ I. 85. 1, 4; VII. 36. 4, 6, 7; 39. 5; 88. 7; 91. 6; 104. 6.

Following the obviously literal sense, ignoring tradition which indicates the special meaning a word or expression comes to have, is equally dangerous. For instance Rahder, who knows not only Sanskrit, but also Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian, would translate (in the Introduction to his edition of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, in the *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. IV, p. 218) the well-known Buddhist word *brahma-vihāra* (which means the 'sublime state of mind' arising from meditation on *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, and *upekṣā*), as the *Brahmā-hall* (!), taking the expression literally.

But we must not be blind to the purely philological method, for, the real meaning of an expression, it is quite possible, is lost and another one takes its place. Without accepting as final, I may in this connection refer to the very plausible explanation by Dr. L. D. Barnett in his translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* of the two well-known words *hṛṣikeśa* and *guḍākeśa* as respectively 'having upstanding hair,' and 'having knotted hair.' The word *hṛṣika* in the sense of *indriya* occurs in Sanskrit, but it is a rare word, and I have not found *guḍākā* to mean *nidrā* anywhere excepting in lexicons. Dr. Barnett's suggestions are deserving of full consideration.

The conventional or accepted sense is more important than what the original root or composition would imply, when the word has been long in use (*rūḍhir yogād balīyasī*). While derivation gives us the original idea behind a word, the conventional sense is the one which has grown up, and is the sense in which it is employed. The word *nadī* or *dhunī* (from *dhvani*), when first applied to a river, indicated the idea of its being 'noisy' (*nadī nadanāt*). But it does not follow from this that while we employ the above words we must be necessarily thinking of the root-sense, 'the 'noisy one.' To insist upon the root-sense when the word has been accepted in a general way would be improper. Whether originally it was *agra+nī*, or *agri*, or *aj (ag)+ni*, or whether it has any connection with Latin *ignis*, Lithuanian *ugnis*, Slav *Ognj*, it does not matter ; for we all know that the word *agni* in Sanskrit means 'fire'. More than ninety per cent. of the students in our Colleges and Sanskrit Pāthasālās, if asked, would answer that *paśyati* is from the root *dṛś*, though this derivation is not the fact (philologically, the form *paś* is only an abridged form of *spas*). Yet, they perfectly know what the word really means. In every language and literature writers employ a large number of words in their current senses, without any reference to the original ideas behind their roots. Under these circumstances, is it not that the interpreter should proceed

with much caution in every step he takes with regard to the derivative meaning of a word he discusses or interprets?

The present condition of Vedic studies in our country is a most regrettable one, specially when it is compared with that in Europe. Vedic Sanskrit is taught to some extent in our Universities, but real interest in it among the students is rare, just as in Prakrit. It appears to me that in most cases it is due to the fact that the teachers themselves are not serious, or have no love for the subject. As such they can hardly rouse any enthusiasm or create any interest in the minds of their pupils. In regard to the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās, the condition is not better, most of the students taking no care for Vedic studies. And the result is that even a really profound Pandit is often unable to construe or understand a passage in Vedic Sanskrit. Nor does he possess the least information about Vedic literature. Though in some of the Pāṭhaśālās there are arrangements for the study of the Veda, they are mainly for chanting purposes, the interpretation being not properly made. This of course has its value, for it is helping to preserve the tradition with respect to *svādhyāya*; but the students who chant without understanding stultify themselves. We should remember what Yāska quotes (I.18) in this connection from the *Samhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, 3 :

स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभू-
दधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।

But even this situation is altering owing to our changing social ideals. Simple *svādhyāyins* also are getting rarer and rarer, as the bestowing of *dakṣiṇās* to maintain them is getting rarer and rarer. I do not impute any mercenary motives to our *Śrotriya*s, who are still great in the midst of their poverty ; but what I suggest is that our Society at large is becoming distracted by other things, and is forgetting its duty to maintain the *Śrotriya*s as necessary to Hindu society. Vedic studies in the traditional way must languish under such circumstances.

We should nevertheless try to keep up the Vidyā and pay our debt to our Rishis. A reorganisation of Vedic studies should come in. It may be suggested that every student of our Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās should read Vedic Sanskrit to a certain standard—and this must be a high one—as a compulsory subject for his passing a Title Examination. The course should

comprise in addition to the texts a good account of Vedic literature, the Nirukta, a grammar written scientifically, and a book on Sanskrit philology. Besides, some acquaintance with the sister literature of the Avesta may be introduced.

Avesta is not a difficult language to one who knows Sanskrit, specially Vedic Sanskrit. The agreement between Sanskrit and Avesta may be compared with that between Sanskrit and Prakrit. As regards meanings, they help each other. In this connection with your permission I may mention an experience of mine. I was thinking that the names for year are the names for the seasons. For instance, *abda* literally 'one that gives water', i.e., 'rainy season'; *varṣa* (which is the same as *varṣā*) 'rain', 'rainy season'; *śarad* 'autumn' (*saradaḥ śatam*); *hima* 'winter season' (*śatam himāḥ*);—all these are the names for the year. But what is the word that originally meant 'hot or summer season', and was employed to denote a year? There must be such a word, for the summer season is very acutely felt in this country. I was then turning over a page of an Avestic work, and came across a word *hama* which means 'summer.' Now *hama* of Avesta, according to phonology, is nothing but *sama* (feminine *samā*) in Sanskrit. And it at once struck me reminding that the word I was seeking after is *samā* (*jīviṣec chatam samāḥ*). It is from the root *sam* 'to heat', as Bhānuji Dikṣita explains in his *ṭīkā* on *Amara-koṣa*. Cf. English *summer*, German *Sommer*, etc.

I am, however, glad to tell you that our scholars are not remaining idle. Since last we met at Lahore, three important Vedic publications have come out. It was in the first session of our Oriental Conference held in Poona that as many as three MSS. of unpublished commentaries on the Rig-Veda, lent by the Government MSS. Library, Madras, were exhibited, one of them being that of Skanda-svāmin, and another of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava. It is now gratifying to see that the first part of these two as edited by Pandit Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī has been placed in our hands by the authorities of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*. The second work has been given to us by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma Vidyabhushana. It is an important commentary on the *Taittirīya Prātiśāhya*. It forms the first volume of the recently started *Madras University Sanskrit Series*. The last work comes from the North, the Punjab, the old home of Vedic culture, the people of which have once more become alive to our great ancestral heritage, specially through the inspiration of the Ārya-samāja. We all know the Word-Indices of all the

four Samhitās of the Veda prepared by the late Svāmī Viśveśvarānanda and Svāmī Nityānanda, both of the Ārya-samāja. Then Pandit Hansraj of the D. A. V. College has given us his *Vaidika-kośa* which helps one much in Vedic studies with special reference to Brāhmaṇas. And now Principal Visvabandhu Śāstri of the Dayānanda Brāhma Mahāvidyālaya, Lahore, working in the same line, has been engaged in bringing out a complete Etymological Dictionary of the Vedic Language in Sanskrit, Hindi, and English, of which the first (specimen) fasciculus has already reached our hands. It prompts one to say that there is not the least doubt that this work, when completed, will take a unique place in the field of Vedic studies, and as such it is bound to be appreciated by all Vedic scholars. Here I should like to mention one more work which reached my hands after the paper was written. It comes from Bengal. It is *Chāndogyamantra-bhāṣya*—a bhāṣya on what is generally known as *Mantra-brāhmaṇa*. This bhāṣya is by Guṇaviṣṇu who is believed to have flourished before Sāyaṇa and is widely read in Bengal and Mithila. The present edition is a critical one under the able editorship of Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya and issued by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. We express our sincere thanks to all these workers.

SOME PROBLEMS IN THE ORIGIN OF ART AND CULTURE IN INDIA*

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

Thanks partly to our national temperament, by which we most easily can regard all existence as fleeting or illusory, and consequently can neglect to preserve anything which does not seem to us to have any value for the ultimate reality—by which we put no abiding importance on the appurtenances and the adornments of life—on the *Upakaraṇas*, as the Upanishad calls them; thanks also to other agencies, *e.g.* the havoc wrought by climate as well as by the hand of man converted into a blind force of destruction and barbarism by the pride of conquest and by the frenzy of religion,—and the criminal ignorance of the value of the heritage from antiquity that has come down to us; thanks to these reasons, the history of cultural and artistic development in our country remains, for lack of documents a tale half-told. The earlier chapters of this history are lost, and there are wide breaks, which we can fill up only by the exercise of our imagination. Indian tradition takes back our history to untold millenniums. But the lavish largesse of Tradition is restrained by the careful hand of sober History, which doles out meagre measures of antiquity and seeks to curtail our credulity. A variety of reasons based on recently discovered facts now induce us to believe that the advent into India of that virile, highly imaginative yet practical, and comparatively rather rude race—the Aryans—took place at a period which cannot be anterior to the middle of the second millennium B. C. The orthodox opinion now current among most scholars takes the period back to five hundred or a thousand years more, and some would even stretch it back to a further two thousand or even two thousand and five hundred years beyond. I shall not discuss that point now. But suffice it to say that our traditions, and the literary documents that we have, take the history of our culture back to times considerably before 1000 B.C., whereas the actual remains of the culture which these traditions refer to and of which this literature is an expression do not go beyond 300 B. C., barring a few articles of problematic date which may be pre-

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Mauryan, *i.e.*, anterior to 300 B.C. The period before 300 B.C. is a blank for India, so far as the material remains of an Indo-Aryan culture—*i.e.* specimens of the handiwork of men speaking an Indo-Aryan tongue—are concerned. We have an unbroken record of temples, inscriptions, pyramids, and artifacts from tombs—of huge pieces of sculpture and of tiny trinkets—which open up for us a panorama of Egyptian life throughout the centuries, up to the pre-dynastic periods. With her cuneiform tablets, the ruin mounds of her temples and ziggurats, her sculpture, her portraits of kings and rulers, Assyria and Babylonia bear ample testimony to her achievements from the 4th millennium B.C. Greece has a clear story to tell of her cultural life through her remains, her temples, her sculpture, her vases, back to the centuries when a New Greece was arising out of the ashes of the old,—and this Old Greece of pre-Indo-European days itself has opened up her treasure-chests of art-objects and antiquities for us. China too has an old tale to tell, with her bronze vases and vessels, her stone drums, and her messages on bones. But in India, there is a profound silence—in the matter of plastic expression of her artistic thought or intuition. In the remains of the time of Asoka, Indian Art makes a sudden appearance, in full bloom: it is a sudden lifting of the cloud, to reveal to us the sun already high in the sky. The dawn and the early morning are lost to us in the mists of undocumented antiquity. A few rays here and there—that is all: in the gold-foil images of the so-called Earth-Goddess, and in the possibly pre-Mauryan terra-cotta figures.

The imagination displayed in painting word-pictures of the Gods and of Nature in Rigvedic poetry makes the gloom all the more mysterious and the silence all the more tantalising. The Rigveda mentions painting in connexion with the Gods—either painting their own divine forms, or their images. There seems to be a clear reference to a painted image of Rudra (cf., p. 454, Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. V: RV. II, 33,9—*sthirebhir aṅgaiḥ pururūpaḥ ugraḥ babhrus śukrebhiḥ pīṣe hiranyaiḥ* 'with strong limbs, many-formed, awful, brown, he is painted with shining golden colours'). Did the people of the Veda—the Aryans among whom the hymns originated, attempt to translate into wood or stone the visions they had of Ushas and of Indra, of Rudra and of the Aśvins? What success did they attain, if that attempt was ever made? An image of Ushas—bright and handsome, like a maiden unveiled rising from her bath; or of a thunder-wielding Indra—the very language of the Vedas

recalls to us the deathless creations of the Hellenes—was it ever sought to be depicted in wood or clay, stone or metal, by Aryans of the Veda? Such images, if they were actually made, could then be regarded as the prototypes of the gold-leaf Earth-Goddess, or the Didarganj chowrie-bearer, or the Barhut and Sanchi Śrī, or of the Yakshis of the oldest art of India; and what could such prototypes be like, antedating the oldest extant specimens of Hindu art by eight or ten centuries? How far is the Śiva image on the Guḍimallam *līṅga*, our oldest Śiva figure, based on earlier prototypes,—and are these prototypes the figures of Rudra mentioned in the Veda, or something non-Aryan? We have nothing at all to tell us about the nature of the plastic arts of the Vedic period. Did that art reveal the mastery of human skill over the inert wood, the resisting stone, or the dull clay? Did it show a suppleness of the hand and the fingers that nobly served the imagination? Or did Vedic Art, for some art must have existed then, show only a struggle of the imagination with the soulless material, as in Primitive Art, such as we still find among some Negro peoples,—despite the magnificence of the word-pictures evoked? Was the Art of the Indian Aryans as crude as that of their Germanic kinsmen of Scandinavia, whose Edda is as beautiful poetry as the Rigveda, but whose wood-carving and rock-carving are quite primitive—especially the latter—possessing a certain vigour no doubt, but recalling nevertheless the efforts of the South Sea Islanders?

We have no reply to these questions. But we can attempt to find out the environment of an artistic expression in this oldest period of our history, and a knowledge of the *milieu* might be of some help in studying the Origins of Indian Art.

We read in our school histories that India was inhabited by dark-skinned Non-Aryans, who were barbarians without any culture, and that the fair-skinned, highly civilised Aryans came from Central Asia, made a matter-of-course conquest of the original people of the country, imposed their superior culture and their language on them, and laid the foundations of Hindu or Indian civilisation. In India, these Aryans were impressed by the panorama presented by Nature in field and wood and mountain and river, and in the rising and the setting of the Sun, in thunder and rain and sunshine; and in their newly-found ecstasy they composed wonderful hymns to these forces of Nature, which they deified. It is not necessary to repeat this sort of reconstruction of the Vedic *milieu*, which we all know. It is a simple story, and very ingenuous too.

It was a hypothesis good enough for the time when it was made, and that is some eighty years ago. But now other facts are coming up, and these facts now make this hypothesis hardly tenable. And these facts tell us a new tale, which is now being built up slowly—this tale about the beginnings of culture in India ; of the mingling of races with their diverse mentalities and contributions; of the conditions in India when we are at the threshold of her history ; of the background for the beginnings of Indian Art ; and of the main currents that contributed to the birth of this Art itself.

The condition of the civilised world of Europe, Asia and Africa about B.C. 2000, a convenient date to begin our survey of Indo-European or Aryan history, was (as we can learn from contemporary documents) the following. In Greece and in the Islands of the Aegean were the Aegean people, with their centres at Mycenae and Tiryns, at Troy, and in Crete ; these were the pre-Indo-European precursors of the Greeks, with their flourishing civilisation, their commerce with Egypt, their ceramic and other arts, their bull-fights. In Egypt, the Egyptians were already a well-organised people with a civilisation several thousand years old. In Asia Minor, the Hittites were dwelling in the highlands of the interior, possessed of a high degree of culture and organisation—they were an impetuous mountain people, giving continual trouble to their neighbours. In Babylonia, the Semites from Arabia and the original Sumerians had long ago commingled their blood, their cultures, and their faiths, and in this way a people with a high civilisation with temples and palaces, organised religion and science, had come into being ; and this new people, or their culture, had extended into the neighbouring land of Assyria. East of Babylonia were the Elamites, in what is now Western Iran,—they were a people of unknown affinity who had attained to a high level of civilisation. Syria was in possession of Semites, with a culture akin to the Babylonian, but susceptible to Egyptian and other neighbouring influences. At that time, we do not know what the situation was in the eastern lands, in Persia, in India. We did not possess until very recently any contemporary remains. Our traditions, and the reconstruction of our prehistoric past with which we are familiar, would have it that the Aryans were living in India and in Iran,—and in India they were fighting the Non-Aryan and expanding their conquests into the interior of the country, and tilling the soil and composing their hymns. But we cannot be sure of all that for this period. We do not know. About this

date, B. C. 2000, we find that the Aryan people is first manifesting themselves in the arena of history in Northern Mesopotamia. Compared with the civilized peoples of pre-Aryan Greece and the Aegean islands, of Asia Minor, of Egypt, and of Assyria and Babylonia, the Aryans were rude and uncivilised. They seem to have come to Northern Mesopotamia from lands further to the North—beyond the Caucasus Mountains,—in Southern or Eastern Russia, perhaps, or in more central or western tracts of Europe. Some of their relations made similar descents into Greece about that time. The culture of these Indo-Europeans in their original homeland was in the bronze-weapon stage. But they had tamed the horse, which became in those days a swift and a terrible weapon in migrations and in warfare.

The Indo-Europeans (or Aryans, as they called themselves in Iran) were already by 2000 B.C. in the mountain tracts of Armenia, of Northern Mesopotamia and of North-Western Iran. And they soon came in touch with their civilised neighbours, in peace as well as in war. The next few centuries saw Aryan expansion in the south and in the south-east. A group of them, the Kassites, made themselves masters of Babylon, and they ruled there for six hundred years, and were evidently finally absorbed among the Babylonians. Another band with a horde of Semitic confederates seems to have penetrated into Egypt, where they were the Hyksos, ruling over Egypt for some four centuries and a half. Other bands or tribes showed their activity in the north. Some of them, the Mada or Manda, who came originally as horse-dealers into Assyria and Western Asia Minor, settled finally in North-Western Persia and became the ancestors of the Medes. The Parśu, or Parsawa (Persians), were another tribe settling in South-Western Persia. One band, the Kanisian tribe, settled in the Hittite Kingdom of Asia Minor, and became one of the ruling peoples there. Another, the Harri or the Aryans, established themselves in the northern part of the *doab* between the Euphrates and the Tigris. A further band of these Aryans were the Mitanni, the ruling class in a state to the north-west of Assyria, who had political and matrimonial relations with the ruling houses of Egypt, Babylon and the Hittite Kingdom, and who, as the Boghaz Köi documents tell us, worshipped the Gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the Nāsatyas, whose cults were evidently carried into India by the kinsmen of the Mitannians—the Vedic Aryans. Excepting the Aryans who were settled in Persia, and those who ventured further east, these various tribes of Aryans, who

stayed on in Northern Mesopotamia and Eastern Asia Minor and fought and lived and carved out kingdoms for themselves there, were subsequently absorbed among the surrounding peoples.

Between 2000 B.C. and 1300 B.C., then, we have these oldest contemporary references to Aryan activities in the Asia Minor and Mesopotamia region. It seems that during these centuries the Aryans had developed their culture and their religion which we find in later and sharply differentiated forms in the Vedas and in the Avesta, in India and in Iran. Their language during this period was in the pre-Vedic and pre-Avestan stage—in the *Indo-Iranian stage* as it is called. The slight evidence of their language which we obtain from the cuneiform inscriptions from Assyrio-Babylonia and Asia Minor indicates that it was, at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C., still in this pre-Sanskrit stage. The Mitanni among whom we find evidence of the worship of the Vedic Gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas were just some of the Aryans who stayed on, while others pushed further to the east.

The religion and culture that we call Vedic might very well have developed, in its incipient stage of course, among these fighting and trekking Aryans while they were still outside India: the first phase of this culture and religion certainly goes back to the time when they had not yet entered India. The Aryans, it would seem, were in Iran for some time before they entered India; and in Iran, it is quite natural to think they came in conflict with the original people of the land before they could find the way to India open. When they came to the Panjab, they were not conscious of entering a new country: the Vedas do not at all give us any such impression. The situation as regards the people whom they met in Eastern Iran and in the Panjab would seem to have been similar. Those Aryans who remained in Iran, the Mada, the Parsawa and some others, developed their common culture and religion as well as speech along their own lines during the following centuries; and some of them later went up north into the plains of Central Asia, and developed the nomadic life, and became the Sakas or Scythians. The Aryans who came into India were a song-making people. We may be sure that they made songs even before they came into India. Some of their song or verse forms were already evolved outside India, e.g., the *Gāyatrī* form, which was also inherited from their common ancestors by the Aryans of Persia.

In these Aryans we have thus one element in the Old Indian cultural texture. Linguistic Palaeontology by examining the linguistic records of the different Indo-European speaking peoples has sought to appraise the culture of the Primitive Indo-Europeans, of whom the Asiatic Aryans were only a branch. The findings of this science has been mainly on the negative side. What little positive testimony we have been enabled to obtain is not very flattering to the material culture of these Indo-Europeans. The Primitive Indo-Europeans of 3000—2000 B.C., in their yet undiscovered home, seem only to have emerged from the Neo-lithic to the Bronze Age. They were partly nomadic shepherds and partly agriculturists, and kept domestic animals, and had tamed the horse—and this was their greatest contribution to material civilisation ; otherwise in this direction they did not possess any remarkable characteristic of their own which could hold them up before the civilised peoples, *e.g.* of Assyria and Babylonia and Egypt. But as a living people, in their fresh and unsophisticated youth, they were willing to learn from the cultured nations they met, and after they came out from their isolation in the north, they everywhere imbibed foreign cultures, foreign ideas, foreign religions, foreign social systems, along with the masses of foreigners who affiliated themselves to them and acknowledged their suzerainty by adopting their language, and were thus absorbed by them. But the Aryans, inspite of this intermixture, retained a great many features of their own religion and ideals. They adopted whatever came in their way, but their robust *rudesse* and their own social organisation as well as their magnificent speech gave the tone to all that they assimilated ; and even when they themselves were absorbed by other peoples, if they came in appreciable numbers, their presence has left its mark indelibly.

What Art did the Indo-Europeans possess, when as Aryans they poured into Mesopotamia and Iran, and then came into India? What advance had they made, coming into contact with the civilised peoples of Asia Minor and of Assyria and Babylon, and Elam, and possibly of pre-Aryan Iran?

We have no records of the art of the Primitive Indo-Europeans. The few crafts they possessed were in a rudimentary stage, as would be natural to expect in a primitive people. There is no evidence to show from their language that they had any sculpture or painting. There is a common Indo-European root,* *pik*, *peik*, *poik* (=Skt. *piś*, *peś*), 'to paint,' which is found in Sanskrit, in Greek, in Latin, in Germanic : it may mean

as much applying woad on the person, as daubing a plank or adorning a picture. From the study of the words used in connexion with religion in the various Indo-European languages, Prof. A. Meillet has come to some conclusions about the character of Primitive Indo-European religion, one of which is that the Indo-European people did not know the use of idols, and that their deities were not personal or anthropomorphic to start with (Meillet, *Linguistique historique et Linguistique générale*, p. 332). The deified forces of Nature were as yet too much in their original natural form, as Sun, Moon, Wind, Thunder, Dawn, Rain, to be regarded as human or personal deities. How much of humanising was achieved is an unsolved problem. This is in strong contrast with the cult ideas of the civilised Non-Aryan peoples of the South—the Ægeans, the Asia Minor peoples, the Egyptians, the Northern Semites,—with their Snake-Goddesses and Mother-Goddesses, their Osirises and Isises, their Ishtars and their Baals and Marduks—each with his or her well-defined anthropomorphic character, and very human attributes and symbols. This presence of the personal idea of the Godhead, and a consequent attempt to visualise it in art, acts as a strong stimulus to the artistic impulses of a people; and the Primitive Indo-European people seemed to lack this stimulus, from the nature of their religion. We have to be content with this negative statement of the conditions for art in the Primitive Indo-European period. The Aryans met the Hittites and the Assyrio-Babylonians, the Elamites and other peoples, and then they peoples, especially the highly artistic Assyrio-Babylonians, were the first masters of the Aryans in the domain of Art. A pastoral and agricultural people may do with vague nature Gods; but when we have a fighting people, whose enemies invoked their Marduk or Shamash, their Ma or their Thunder-wielding God, to help them and fight for their, we can only expect them to develop personal Gods in their turn. That is what seems to have happened. Indra, leading the Aryan fighters to victory; Varuṇa, watching their deeds and keeping a moral control; Mitra, seeing that friendship and oaths are honoured; the Nāsatyas, the divine healers wandering about on horseback, healing wounds and deformities; Ushas, inspirer of new life after the night's refreshing sleep; and even a supreme deity **Asura Mazdha*, later the *Ahura Mazda* of the Persian Aryans—the 'Potent Highly Intelligent One'—was evolved among some Aryans. And with these personal Gods, the example of the Assyrians and the rest could naturally act as stimulus to the artistic or icon-making tendency of

the Aryans ; more so when some of the deities of these peoples, and the characteristics of others, were unconsciously accepted by the Aryans in their own pantheon. The quickening of the Aryan artistic impulses was undoubtedly effected through the contact with the Asuras—the Assyrians. The art of the ancient Aryans of Persia some centuries later is mainly a copy of that of Assyria. The Indian Aryans also carried with them rudiments of what they had picked up from the hated Asuras whom they always had to fight while they were sojourning in the West,—and with the memories of these fights and the cruelties of the Asuras they also remembered the fact, in their distant homes in India, that the Asuras were superior to the Aryans in the art of building and in making beautiful things, as much as in warfare. Traditions of the sons of wise men among the Aryans going to learn the mysterious arts and crafts from the wise men among the hated Asuras have survived in Indian legends.

One important element in the composition of art in Ancient India is thus the kind of art the Aryans learned from the Assyrio-Babylonians and brought into India : and the Earth-Goddess images or designs, and the lotus rosette (so characteristic of Barhut and Sanchi) seem to be the result of this early contact between Ārya and Asura outside India.

In Eastern Iran, the Aryans seem to have met with a great people who probably extended from Northern and Western Persia to the Panjab and Sindh—the *Dāsa* or *Dasyu* people. In Iran, they came later on to be called *Daha* and *Dahyu*, and the land was so much the land of the *Dahyu* that in Avestan the word (*dahyu*) came to mean 'the country-side'. In Greek times the Aryans were spread almost all over Iran, and the *Daha* were confined to North-Eastern Iran—to the east of the Caspian. And we learn from the Rigveda that the toughest foes of the Aryans were the *Dāsa* or *Dasyu* people ;—foes whom they had to fight within India, certainly ; and probably also outside India ; since there is the great likelihood that many of the hymns compiled in the Rigveda were actually composed in Iran, where also the *Dāsa-Daha* and *Dasyu-Dahyu* tribes lived. These *Dāsa-Dasyus* apparently presented a teeming population ; the Rigveda is full of them. The Aryans fought them, and invoked their Gods against them, and killed and enslaved them—and did the last thing to such an extent that the word *Dāsa* came to mean 'slave' in the Aryan's language. And these original dwellers in the land, when they had to give way before the Aryan invaders in pitched battles, would retaliate by sudden raids against their Aryan foe-men, so that in

the Aryan's language the name *Dasyu* came to signify 'marauder'. The importance of the *Dāsa-Dasyu* people in Vedic life cannot be gainsaid. And in the development of ancient Indian culture, the *Dāsa-Dasyu* can reasonably be regarded as having contributed some elements. From the descriptions in the Rigveda, we can see that these *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* were not mere savages—they were a well-organised people with a high culture of their own. They seem to have in later times been confused with the *Asuras*, as both were equally foes of the Aryans, and consequently of their Gods. Now, who were these *Dāsas*, and what do we know of their culture?

We have seen that the oldest objects of material culture in India that we can associate with a people of Aryan language and culture are the Maurya artifacts, which take us only to a few centuries B.C. We know that in India apart from the Aryan speech and Aryan culture, there were other families of speech and culture—the Austric, the Dravidian, and the Tibeto-Chinese. The last of these we can dismiss from a study of the origins of Indian culture and art, as it came very late in the field, after the characteristically Hindu or Indian culture had evolved, and touched only the fringes of the Indian world. The connexion or contribution of Dravidian culture to Hindu religion and culture has been generally admitted. Dravidian speakers are believed to have been absorbed in the North Indian masses. The Austric tribes at one time were spread all over Northern India, and they too have contributed very largely in the formation of the Indian people in Northern as well as Southern India. Their culture probably found an expression in agriculture in the river-valleys, and in maritime enterprise—it was rather a primitive, village type of culture, not a centralised or city culture, as it seems to have been in the case of the Dravidians. Remains of a high type of pre-historic culture have been found in Southern India, at places like Adittanallur, with bronze vessels, images, gold and bronze ornaments and pottery, burial chests of terra-cotta and other objects, in the midst of burial mounds; and these have been ascribed to the ancestors of the modern Dravidians.

Now we do not know to what linguistic and ethnic group the *Dāsa-Dasyu* people—as well as other non-Aryan peoples like the *Paṇis*, the *Asuras* of India, and the *Niṣādas*, mentioned in the oldest texts, belonged—Austric or Dravidian. The presence of the Dravidian Brahuis in Baluchistan would point at the occupation by Dravidian speakers of tracts

in N. W. India. The affinities of the Austric people are well known: they belong to the East, and they were spread all over Burma, and part of Indo-China, and Malaya and the Islands of Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. The affinities of the Dravidians we do not know for certain, but it seems to have been in the North-West, beyond the Baluch frontier—with peoples of the Mediterranean area, as it has been suggested by some. We would be tempted to connect them with the *Dāsa-Dasyu* people, and the *Paṇis*, who were spread at one times from the Panjab to Western Iran. But we cannot be definite—the question still remains open—the connexion between the *Dāsa-Dasyu* and the Austries or Dravidians continues to baffle us, for want of facts.

Recent discoveries at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro have definitely turned the orientation of our researches into the origins of Hindu culture. They show a civilization, with a complicated town life, going back to 3000 B.C. and more, long before the advent of the Aryans: and there we have a well-developed art, in stucco images, in pottery, in clay votive figures, in steattite seals with figures of animals and undecipherable inscriptions, in copper images, in faience and shell bracelets and in some other interesting objects. Similar art objects, pottery mainly, have been found at Nal in Baluchistan and at Anau to the North-East of Persia, and also in Elam in Western Iran; and the connexion of this culture with that of ancient Sumer, too, is clear. It was thus a culture which was spread from Western India to Western Persia. Now, the *Dāsa-Dasyu* would seem to be the people who were spread both in Iran and India in pre-Aryan and Early Aryan times. This culture, especially in the Indus Valley, we can tentatively associate with the people called *Dāsa* in the Vedas—without suggesting what these *Dāsas* were in *language*, whether Austric or Dravidian.

Mr. R. P. Chanda in his most suggestive monograph on the *Survival of the Prehistoric Culture of the Indus Valley* (No. 41 of the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1929) has discussed the question of the pre-Aryan culture of India and its contributions in the formation of Hindu religion and Hindu civilization. He thinks that the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas (or Rājanyas) represent two entirely different groups of people with conflicting cultures and mentalities—the Brahmans belonging to the Aryans and the Kshatriyas to the Non-Aryans. The Kshatriyas were the native Non-Aryan ruling groups of India, and the Aryan Brahmans came over to India and were received favourably by the Kshatriyas. (In this

view he would seem in a way to support an idea of Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, published as early as 1909 in his *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, that the Aryan language came into India as a 'culture drift', in the wake of the Brahmanical fire cult, without any appreciable number of Aryans coming into India). The rites of human sacrifice and widow-burning were Rājanya or Kshatriya (non-Aryan) rites, abhorred by the Aryan Brahmins; and Yoga practice, with which the Yatis and the Vrātyas were associated (as distinguished from the fire-worshipping Brahmins), was in its origin also non-Aryan. Two most remarkable stucco statuettes discovered at Mohen-jo-Daro—bust statuettes of bearded men with half-closed eyes—Mr. Chanda regards as busts of Yogis of the pre-Aryan period. Elsewhere, in his *Beginnings of Art in Eastern India with special reference to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* (Memoir No. 30 of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1927), Mr. Chanda suggests that tree and *caitya* worship formed the characteristic religion of pre-Aryan India in the East. This would accord well with the view, which receives the support of Linguistics, that the ritual of the *pūjā*, together with the name or term *pūjā*, as opposed to the *homa* or fire-cult or fire-ritual of the Aryan, is non-Aryan—in fact, Dravidian. The thesis of Mr. Chanda is further developed by Coomaraswamy, who has shown how tree and *caitya* worship really meant the worship of tree-spirits or godlings known as Yakshas, and these Yakshas were the divinities of the non-Aryan peoples of India, and the ritual observed in worshipping them was opposed to the Vedic ritual: and the idea of *Bhakti* is connected with Yaksha-worship. The worship of *Śiva* and *Sakti*, of the *Liṅga* and *Yoni*, is believed (from actual objects said to represent these symbols) to have also obtained among the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa people.

All these above-mentioned cults and customs which we have to associate with the non-Aryan peoples of India—the *Dāsa-Dasyu*, or Dravidian and Austric, Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa peoples—were more conducive to quicken artistic treatment than the original animistic or borrowed heroic cults of the Aryans. In fact, long after Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa in 3000 B.C., we find art making a sudden reappearance in India,—to glorify the Buddha, no doubt, but it is intimately connected with Yaksha worship in trees and *caityas* as its most potent incentive or inspiration; and later on, this art becomes connected with the worship of the great Hindu Gods, who are hardly described in their later character in the Vedic literature, and who are often Gods and Yogis combined in one.

The anthropomorphic or monstrous Yakshas and Vṛkshakās, and later on the great gods Śiva and Umā, Lakshmī and Viṣṇu, and Gaṇapati and the rest, as well as the spirit of Yoga which suffuses them, thus appear to be the most important and most profound survivals of the non-Aryan culture of the period when the Vedic Aryans entered India.

We have seen that what the Aryans themselves brought was an uncertain quantity, and judging from their past history as Indo-European barbarians, this uncertain quantity was very meagre. Probably all their achievement was in some crude copies or adaptations of Assyrio-Babylonian deities, in wood or clay, or rarely in metal,—for stone they do not seem to have essayed at all, and they built in wood mostly. The gold foil images of the Earth-Goddess, so-called, if it is really the handiwork of Aryan craftsman, is inspired by the Assyrio-Babylonian images of the Mother Goddess. Some floral decoration like the rose or lotus pattern which we find in the Barhut and Sanchi railings, and possibly attempts to depict some animals like the lion and the horse (such as we find, to perfection, with fresh impetus from Persia, later on in the time of Asoka)—these might have been brought in by the Aryans in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.

Compared with them, the Non-Aryans of India had a great art. Before those Non-Aryans, dwelling in houses of brick and in flourishing cities, the wandering or hut-dwelling Aryan invaders, with no art worth mentioning, were barbarians, albeit splendid and powerfully organised barbarians. It might be that art in Northern India suffered a check at first when the Aryan and the Non-Aryan came in hostile contact, and the Non-Aryan had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Aryan. But their art could never die, just as their religion and ritual and their gods seemingly yielded before the gods and the fire-ritual of the Aryans but did not in reality pass away. Both of these refused to be submerged for ever, and came up once more, and became the national religion and art of India during the closing centuries of the first millennium B.C.

In the meanwhile, the Aryans who stayed on in Iran had prospered. They had learnt a great deal from them Assyrio-Babylonian and Elamitic neighbours, and possibly also from the other Non-Aryans comparable to the *Dāsas* of India. They had developed, mainly under Assyrio-Babylonian inspiration, with some influences from Asia Minor and from Greece, a great art of their own, which achieved its highest success during the Achæmenian emperors. Coming in contact with the most gifted peoples of Western

Asia, the culture of the Persians became more urban and more advanced—at least on the material side—than that of the Indians. When the Persians conquered the North-Western parts of India, c. 500 B.C., the country became exposed to the influences of the art of Persia, *i.e.* to the ancient art of Assyrio-Babylonia in a new form. The use of stone seems to have been adopted in India through Persian influence. Persian architecture, too, exerted a tremendous influence on that of India, so much so that pillared halls with animal capitals in the Persian style came to be naturalised in India. Columned halls, and proclamation or commemoration pillars with figures of lions or bulls or other animals on the capital, became a characteristic expression of the power of the great Maurya emperors, and Persia supplied the models. But in plastic treatment of themes from Indian life, legend and ritual, the Persian style could not be or would not be imitated; here the Indian artists evolved a style of their own, which we find in Maurya and Suṅga art, at Bodh Gaya and Sanchi and Barhut in its earliest extant phase, already characterised by a remarkable suppleness and grace, combined with a rare sincerity and strength, especially in some of the animal studies and in decoration; and by a noteworthy intensity of expression in some of its admirably rendered human figures.

The Greek came, and his influence has been more profound in the national Indian schools than in the hybrid or Eurasian Gandhara School. The latter was like the mediæval or modern Indian writer's Persian or English composition, while the assimilated Greek influence in the native Indian schools can be compared to the European or Persian influence in the best productions in the Indian languages. A number of *motifs* were obtained from the Greeks, and were Indianised: and the effect of Greek art in this way seems to have made itself felt in post-Christian times. Witness, for instance, the coinage of the Guptas.

All these diverse elements were indissolubly blended together during the first few centuries after Christ, and beginning from Bodh Gaya and and Barhut and Sanchi and from Mathura and Amaravati, we have the final shape given under the Imperial Guptas, when Indian Art as a National Art became definitely established, to soar into its highest flights at Mahabalipuram, Ellora and Elephanta in sculpture, and at Ajanta and Bagh in painting; to develop into a number of provincial schools in the course of the mid-mediæval period, within India and outside India, in Indo-China and Indonesia; and to inspire the Buddhistic Art of Serindia and of China and Japan. And in this way, Indian Art, which existed at the time of the

advent of the Aryans in its primitive form among the non-Aryan peoples of the country, as at Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa, possibly received one or two elements from the Aryans bringing in certain things picked up from the West, attained its first completed state in the Maurya period with the abrupt use of stone for both building and sculpture in place of wood and brick; and with the example and influence of Persia, it entered into the domain of great Art; it was reinforced later by forms levied from Greek Art; and, above all, was suffused by the creative genius of a composite Indian people nurtured in the mystic and contemplative philosophy that was older than the advent of the Aryans and was evoked by thinkers for over three millenniums; and finally became in the centuries before and after the Guptas, one of the most precious and most potent heritages of man in the history of human artistic endeavour.

If we were to trace the various strata of Indian Art, we could pose the following :

(1) The Pre-Aryan Art of India, connected with Pre-Aryan religion; earliest relics found at Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa: suppressed or submerged during the centuries of Aryan supremacy in religion and culture, or perhaps existing in a flourishing state with the old religion side by side with Aryan religion and culture, and coming to its own probably in the middle (or first half) of the first millennium B.C. with the re-establishment of non-Aryan cults and ritual and religious and philosophical notions in later Hinduism (Yaksha cults, Tree-deities, *Caityas*, Śiva and other Hindu Gods, Yoga practices, *pūjā* ritual: seals with animal figures, terra-cotta figures, copper figures, stucco portrait statues. This Art at its base seems to be connected with Sumerian Art.

We do not know what art the Austric people possessed: but it is quite likely that some elements of architecture and decorative art in India, South-Eastern Asia and Indonesia originated with the Austrians.

(2) Some rudimentary art, mostly borrowed from Assyria and Babylonia, as brought in by the Aryans: probably images in wood and clay and metal, and a little wood-carving, with some Assyrian motifs. (This is rather problematical).

(3) The Art of Aryan Persia—itsself an eclectic formation, with elements from Assyrio-Babylonian Art, and Egyptian, Asia Minor and Ionian Greek Art. This exerted a profound influence on a blend of (1) and (2) which was probably taking place during the middle of the first millennium B.C., and the result was—

(4) The first crystallised expression of an Ancient Indian National Art, in which the mixed Aryan and Non-Aryan people shared, in Maurya and Suṅga times. Beginnings of Indian iconography.

(5) Advent of Greek influence: (i) Gandhara—remaining outside the Indian pale, a thing apart—unassimilated with the Indian tradition; (ii) absorbed Greek influence, leading to the strengthening of (4), which became more refined and more urban in

(6) Mathura (Kushāṇa) and Amaravati (Andhra) Art of the early centuries of the Christian era.

(7) Development of (6) through free working of the native Indian spirit, and permeation of Indian philosophical and religious conceptions, into Classical Gupta Art, on which the subsequent art history of Hindu India was broad-based.

(8) Development of Gupta Art into mid-mediæval and late mediæval local schools: Pallava (with elements from the earlier Andhra Art of the South), Rāshṭrakūṭa, Pāla, Orissan, Western and Central Indian, etc., etc.

(9): (7) and varieties of (8) pass into Indo-China and Java, where modified by the local native character and contribution, this is transformed to Hindu Colonial Art of South-Eastern Asia: to wit:—

(i) Mon and Burmese; (ii) Khmer; (iii) Siamese, based on Khmer, but with modifications and refinement by contact with the Siamese race; (iv) Cham, with important modification; (v) Javanese: (a) Early or Hindu-Javanese, (b) Middle Javanese, with an increase of the Indonesian character, and (c) Late Javanese, with still greater Indonesian influence; (v) Balinese Early, Middle and Late, agreeing with Javanese.

(10) The Buddhist Art of Serindia, China, Korea and Japan in which (5 [i]) and (6) meet with fresh influences from Persia (Sasanian Art), and later on is further modified by (7) and varieties of (8). There is also profound modification by the native art and spirit of China.

VISVA-BHARATI BULLETIN.

I. DEMONSTRATION OF JIU-JITSU IN CALCUTTA.

Mr. Takagaki came to Santiniketan from Japan in November, 1929, at the request of Rabindranath Tagore, to impart instruction to the Santiniketan boys and girls, and anybody else who cared to take advantage of it, in the art of Jiu-Jitsu, the Japanese system of physical culture. Under the expert guidance of Mr. Takagaki, his pupils at Santiniketan, both boys and girls, have attained a high degree of proficiency in Judo and the demonstration they gave in December, 1930, at the Exhibition held in connexion with the All Asia Teachers' Congress at Benares, greatly impressed everybody who saw it. Another demonstration was given on the 16th of March, 1931, at the New Empire Theatre, Calcutta, by Mr. Takagaki and his pupils. There was a crowded house and a large part of the audience consisted of school and college students. The Poet was present on the occasion, and before the performance began, spoke at some length on the need of making physical culture an integral part of our educational system. Mr. Takagaki, who was introduced by the Japanese Consul in Calcutta, also briefly explained to the audience the main principles of Judo and its value both as an art of offence and defence and a system of physical culture generally*. The performance began with a choral song specially composed by the Poet for the purpose.

The programme of the actual demonstration consisted of the following features: (1) Attack and defence drill by Santiniketan boys and girls. (2) Art of overcoming a stronger opponent (demonstrations drill) by Santiniketan boys and girls. (3) Throwing exercises (kata) demonstrated by Mr. Takagaki. (4) Counter throwing exercises (kata) by Mr. Takagaki. (5) Catching, choking and breaking tactics by Mr. Takagaki. (6) Attack and defence demonstrations (kata) by Mr. Takagaki. (7) The "drill of five" (Itsutsumo kata) by Santiniketan girls. (8) Methods of receiving attack demonstrated by Mr. Takagaki. (9) Open contest (Randori) by Judo experts and Santiniketan boys.

Every part of the programme was carried out most skillfully and thoroughly enjoyed by the audience, and the performance created a strong

*A fuller exposition of Judo is given in the next article.

impression regarding the possibilities of Judo as a form of physical culture and as a practical art of self-defence. The "drill of five" and certain other portions of the programme were greatly appreciated also on account of their exquisite æsthetic value.

II. JIUDO.

(THE JAPANESE NATIONAL SYSTEM OF PHYSICAL CULTURE).

I.

In our feudal times, Jiudo, known then more commonly as Jiujitsu, was practised by our Samurai, together with other kinds of martial exercises, such as fencing, archery, the use of spears, etc. Jiudo was the art of fighting generally without weapons, although sometimes different kinds of weapons were made use of. The kinds of attack were principally throwing, hitting, kicking, choking, holding the opponent down, and bending or twisting the opponent's arms or legs in such a way as to cause pain or fracture. There were multitudinous ways of defence against such attacks.

THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-RESISTANCE.

One main feature of the art is the application of the principle of non-resistance and the taking advantage of the opponent's loss of equilibrium ; hence the name Jiujitsu (literally the soft and gentle art). Now let me explain this principle by a few examples.

Suppose it is possible to estimate the strength of my assistant in units of 1. Let us say that his strength is represented by 10 units, whereas my strength is less than his, and is represented by 7 units. Then if he pushes me with all his force, I shall certainly be pushed back, or thrown down, even if I use all my strength against him. This would happen because I used all my strength against him, opposing strength against strength. But if, instead of opposing him, I were to withdraw my body, just as much as he pushed, remembering at the same time to keep my balance, then he would naturally lean forward and thus lose his balance. In this new position he may have become so weak (not in actual physical strength but because of his awkward position) as to have his strength represented for

the moment by, say, only 3 units, instead of his normal 10 units. But meanwhile, I by keeping my balance, retain my full strength, as originally represented by 7 units. Here then, I am momentarily in an advantageous position and I can defeat my opponent by using only half of my strength, that is half of my 7 units or $3\frac{1}{2}$ against his 3. This leaves one half unit of strength still available for any emergency. Had I possessed greater strength than my opponent, I could of course have pushed him back. But even in this case, it would have been better if I had first placed him in an awkward position, for by doing so I should have greatly economised my energy.

This is a simple illustration of how an opponent may be defeated by his being left unresisted. Other instances may be given.

Suppose my opponent tries to twist my body in a particular way (demonstration) intending to throw me down on the ground. If I were to resist him, I should surely be thrown down, because my strength to resist him would not be sufficient to overcome him. But, if on the other hand, I were to leave him unresisted and while so doing, I were to pull my opponent in the direction in which he was pulling me, and if I were to fall down on the ground voluntarily, I could throw my opponent very easily.

But there are circumstances in which this principle does not apply. Suppose, for example, my opponent had taken hold of my right wrist. If I do not resist him there would be no means of releasing it from his hold. The best way to release would, however, be to move my arm in such a way that my whole strength is used to counteract my opponent's hand grip. Thus in order to release my wrist I am obliged to use my strength against his, contrary to the principle of non-resistance.

Again my opponent grips me from behind. In this case, I cannot release myself by non-resistance. I must either throw my opponent, using the strength of my whole body to counteract his grip (demonstration), or slide down obliquely and release myself.

This will serve to show you that the principle of non-resistance is not sufficient in all cases.

MAXIMUM EFFICIENT USE OF MIND AND BODY.

Then, is there any principle which never fails of application? Yes, there is one such principle, and that is called the principle of the Maximum

Efficient Use of Mind and Body, and the idea of non-resistance is only one particular instance of the application of this fundamental principle.

A little consideration will show that we often make an unnecessary expenditure of energy in ordinary bodily contests and also in our daily lives. I shall show you by some examples how a small exertion of energy is often sufficient to perform some of the most marvellous feats in physical contests.

Here stands a man. He must either be standing still or moving his leg or legs. Whenever he moves, he is giving me an opportunity of throwing him down by a very slight exertion on my part. Suppose he steps forward on his right leg, in this case I shall not be able to throw him even if I push that leg from behind, so long as it is still off the ground and his body is being supported on his left leg. But if I push it (from the back near the tendon of Achilles) just as his right foot is touching the ground and at a moment when the weight of his body is in progress of being transferred to this leg, then a slight tap is enough to throw him down. And in case he steps backward, a slight kick applied to his front leg at the proper moment would also enable me to throw him very easily. Next, suppose he is standing still and neither of his legs is moving. In that case a man may be compared to a log of wood standing on end. He may be very easily pushed or pulled down unless he resists me with his bodily strength. If he resists me he can be thrown even more easily, simply by pulling or pushing him in the direction in which he himself is exerting his strength. This shows how strength properly applied can control the opponent's strength even when several times greater.

There are many opportunities of putting an opponent out of balance in the course of a contest, one such opportunity occurs when an opponent tries to hit me. Suppose he shoots out his right arm attempting to strike me in the face ; I avoid the blow by simply side-stepping, and then take hold of his sleeve or his arm near the elbow joint with my left hand, pull it forward and just at the moment he is a little out of balance, place my right arm in front of his neck and push him from the back, placing my left hand near the base of his spinal column, so that he will get entirely out of balance. I can then easily choke him with my left hand.

All these are illustrations of the Principle of the Maximum Efficient Use of Mind and Body, on which the whole of the Art and Science of Jiudo is based.

RANDORI AND KATA.

Jiudo is taught under two methods. One is called Randori, and the other is called Kata. Randori or free exercise, is practised under conditions of actual contest. It includes throwing, choking, holding the opponent down, and bending or twisting the opponent's arms or legs. The two combatants may use whatever tricks they like, provided they do not hurt each other, and obey the general rules of Jiudo concerning etiquette.

Kata, which literally means "form," is a formal system of pre-arranged exercises, including (besides the things mentioned above) hitting, kicking and the use of weapons, practised according to rules under which each combatant knows beforehand exactly what his opponent is going to do. The use of weapons, hitting and kicking are allowed only in Kata and not in Randori, because if these practices were resorted to in Randori, cases of fatal injury could easily occur.

One great advantage of Jiudo as a system of physical culture consists in the large number of movements it contains for physical development. Another advantage is that every movement has some definite object and must be used intelligently, while in ordinary gymnastics, movements are often liable to become semi-automatic and monotonous.

Randori may be practised in various ways. If the object is simply the training in methods of attack and defence then the learners' attention should be specially directed to the most efficient ways of throwing, striking, bending or twisting, without special reference to developing the body or to mental or moral culture.

Although the exercises in Jiudo, both in Kata and in Randori, are generally conducted between two persons, and in a room specially prepared for this purpose, yet this is not always necessary. Jiudo can be practised by a large number of persons or by a single individual, in the play-ground or in the ordinary sitting room.

JIUDO FOR MENTAL TRAINING.

But the object of a systematic physical training in Jiudo is not only to develop the body, but to enable a man or a woman to have a perfect control over mind and body, and to make him or her fit to meet any emergency.

I will next explain to you how one can be mentally trained in Jiudo. This can be done by Kata as well as by Randori, but more successfully by the latter. In the contest between two persons, both must have all the resources at their command and at the same time obey the prescribed rules of Jiudo. Such an attitude of mind and its exercise in devising means of attack and defence tend to make the learner earnest and sincere, cautious and deliberative, in all his dealings. At the same time one is trained for quick and prompt action, because in Randori unless one decides quickly and acts promptly he will always lose his opportunity either in attacking or in defence.

Again, in Randori contests, none of the contestant know what his opponent is going to do, so each must be prepared to meet any sudden attack by the other. This preparedness for emergencies develops a great equanimity and composure of mind.

Powers of observation and concentration are systematically developed during training. Imagination is required in devising means of attack and defence, as well as sound reasoning and judgment.

In Randori, we teach the learner always to act on the fundamental principle of Jiudo, no matter how physically inferior his opponent may seem to him, and even if he can by sheer strength easily overcome the other, because if he acts against this principle, the opponent will never be convinced of his defeat whatever brutal strength he may use over him.

It is hardly necessary to remind you that the best way of convincing your opponent in an argument is not to push this or that advantage over him, be it from superior knowledge, superior wealth or superior power, but to persuade him in accordance with the inviolable rules of logic. Persuasion is always better than coercion, this is what we learn from Randori. Again we teach the learner, that when he uses any movement to overcome his opponent he should employ only just as much of his force as is absolutely necessary for his purpose. They are warned never to employ more force than is required by the situation. There are not a few cases in which people fail in what they undertake, simply because they go too far, not knowing where to stop.

THE MORAL SIGNIFICANCE OF JIUDO.

Besides the cultural discipline acquired by the pupils through the observance of the regular rules of etiquette, and the cultivation of courage,

perseverance, kindness, respect for others, impartiality and fair play so much emphasized in Western athletics, the training in Jiudo has a special moral significance in Japan. I have already mentioned that Jiudo, together with other martial exercises, was practised by our old Samurai who had a high code of honour, the spirit of which has been handed down to us through the teaching of this art.

In this connexion I may explain how the principle of the maximum efficient use of mind and body is helpful in promoting moral conduct. There is often a tendency for human beings to get excited and angry. Jiudo teaches us that to be excited is an unnecessary expenditure of energy, giving benefit to nobody but often doing harm to ourselves and others, and this enables us to retain our composure.

Again we sometimes feel despondent from disappointment. We are gloomy and have no initiative for work. Jiudo shows us that there is but one road to follow—to adopt what appears to be the best course for the time being. Training in Jiudo enables us to look upon the future with hope even when we are at the bottom of the trough of disappointment.

This same reasoning applies to persons who are discontented. Discontented persons are often in a sulky state of mind and blame other people without properly attending to their own business. The teaching of Jiudo will make such persons understand that such conduct is against the principle of the maximum efficient use of mind and body. Finally they may come to realize by the faithful pursuance of the principle that it would be better to work cheerfully, for that is the best way.*

III. Spring Festival in Calcutta.

It is almost exactly ten years now that Rabindranath Tagore started a new movement in art by the production of "Varsha-mangal" (Rain Festival) in Calcutta in August, 1921. An altogether new version of the Rain Festival was given in July, 1922, the "Sarodotsav" (Festival of Autumn) in September, 1922, the "Vasanta Utsav" (Festival of Spring in February, 1923). These compositions were entirely different from the ordinary 'jalsa' (musical concerts), and they could not be called dramatic plays in the accepted sense although the Poet had introduced a few

[*The above article is a translation from a lecture on the Japanese art of self-defence, Jiudo, which was delivered before the Pan-Pacific Club of Tokyo. It was first published in the *Japan Times*, and is reproduced here by the courtesy of the publisher of the above journal.]

characters here and there, and in each case there was a gradual unfolding of a central theme. Songs and dances with colour harmonies in dress and decorations formed the chief ingredients which found their unity in the development of an inner idea. They constituted in fact a new form of artistic creation. The introduction of songs, dances, and decorations of the new type in the production of the dramatic pieces like the "Visarjan" in 1924, the "Natir Puja" in 1927, and the "Tapati" in 1929, marked further stages of the same movement. The "Sesh-varshan" (the Festival of the Passing Rains) was given in 1925, and "Ritu-ranga" (the Dance of the Seasons) in 1927.

This year "Nabin", a new composition with the coming and passing of Spring as its theme, was presented in Calcutta on the 17th, 18th, 19th and 21st of March, 1931, by Santiniketan boys and girls led by the Poet himself. The following account is taken from reports in the Calcutta press.

The Poet, in this musical play, opens before us the panorama of nature, heralding the pageant of Spring with its riotous glory of flowers, its exuberance of beauty in form and colour, its reckless abundance of new life. The song of invocation is a chant to this spirit of new-born joy and it introduces the first part of the play which through a magic of tunes, dances, and a sort of Greek chorus, uttered in prose by the Poet himself, brings the message of the positive manifestation of life which surrenders its wealth of youth on the altar of self-expression.

Thus it is that the day of life begins, the freshness and the intoxication of living, the joy of emergence borne in by the spring-tide of primal youth. The cycle of life however completes itself in a deeper harmony of acceptance and self-surrender, and the second part of "Nabin" reveals that other aspect of life which carries within itself the burden of 'eternal passion, eternal pain', which in the sunset glow of ripe fulfilment attains the supreme splendour of bare amplitude, rich in its dedication of the day's garnerings to the silent peace of the starry night waiting to restore the new-born day once more to the universe. This cyclic aspect of our existence, where there is no abrupt termination of our youthful activities but their gracious fulfilment in an inner realization of unity with the all through the perfection of self-surrender, is made luminously vivid in this new composition.

The songs are instinct with the pathos of parting and death, but they sing the joy of triumphant victory over death and decay through the vision of our eternal spiritual reality which far transcends the bounds

of time and place and lives serene in the peace of an eternal presence, of a harmony where life and death join together in the unending dance of Being.

The singing at the Calcutta performance, was mostly in chorus, but there were about half a dozen exquisite solo-songs. Most of the songs were accompanied by dancing by Santiniketan boy and girls. The dance-poses were based on old Indian traditions with startling innovations here and there. One thing which greatly contributed to the picturesqueness of the dances was the wonderful effect produced by the dresses worn by the dancers which were chosen with an unfailing sense of colour.

But perhaps the most striking feature of the whole performance was the contribution of the Poet himself. His part consisted in speaking a few words in prose, as a sort of a prologue, to every song. But he had a surprise for the audience. From time to time he would break off in the midst of his words and sing snatches of songs, some his own, some those of old composers, in his wonderfully rich and mellow voice, casting a spell on the whole audience.

The entire proceeds of the performances will be credited to the funds of the Visva-bharati.

IV. The Poet's Seventieth Birthday Anniversary.

Rabindranath Tagore completed his seventieth year on the 8th of May last (25th Vaisakh, 1338, B.E.). There had been a talk of taking opportunity of this event for a public expression of the love and esteem in which the Poet is held by his countrymen by a befitting celebration. But as it was found inconvenient owing to various reasons to hold the celebration on the date of the Poet's birth-day, it was decided to postpone it to some later date convenient to the Poet—a decision which was endorsed by a large body of the citizen of Calcutta at a public meeting held on the 16th May last. Celebrations on a small scale were however held in many places in Bengal including Santiniketan where the Poet's presence lent to a quiet ceremony a picturesqueness and an emotional significance, which celebrations elsewhere necessarily lacked.

The Poet delivered the following message on this occasion, through the Associated Press.

Birth-day Message from the Poet.

"The modern age, with its interlinked social and economic basis of civilisation, has brought about new values of unity in the relationship of the human races. Those races which persist in cultivating primitive habits of tribal isolation and hostile individualism must suffer and cause suffering by shunting the fundamental truth of our present civilization. Humanity must adjust itself to the spirit of the age and develop a harmonious co-operation of efforts in order that our present sufferings, born of unnatural competition and exploitation, may be alleviated."

"The immediate results of the proximity of races, made possible by the modern age, lie in increased chances for the stronger races to exploit the weaker ones by organized machinery of power and scientific utilitarianism. The weaker races, who have become a menace to the safety of the whole human civilization by attracting the greed of the powerful, have consequently to cultivate as a measure of self-defence an unwholesome attitude of national self-assertion which, in its turn, intensifies the cultural misunderstanding of the peoples of different countries."

"All these phases of maladjustment and mutual suspicion are, however, transitory, and signs are evident everywhere that a new order of co-operation will be established in the world. India must not fail to recognize this in her present effort to re-shape her destiny, and her freedom must vitally connect itself with the freedom of all humanity which comprehends the welfare of the different racial and national units that form it and give them their fulness of truth."

The following account of the celebrations at different places is taken from newspaper reports.

Santiniketan.

The seventieth birth-day of Rabindranath Tagore was celebrated by the inmates of Santiniketan and a large number of his friends belonging to the East and the West. Amidst picturesque surroundings and under the cool shade of a mango grove, Vedic prayers were chanted and songs were sung in chorus by the boys and girls of the institution. The Poet was offered 'chandan' and 'kumkum' and a Chinese artist presented him with a picture by himself. Messages wishing long life were received from friends all over the world.

The Poet in a moving speech thanked the audience for their touching demonstration of affection, and explained the central ideal of his life,

which, he said, was that of a poet who tries to reveal through self-expression the eternally youthful play of the Creator as manifested in the beauty and harmony of Nature.

The Poet then read out a few of the poems recently composed by him which gave a glimpse into his present outlook on life.

Calcutta.

A public meeting was held in Calcutta on the 16th of May, 1931, to consider what steps should be taken to celebrate the completion by the Poet of his seventieth year in a befitting manner.

The following report of the meeting is taken from the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* of the 23rd May, 1931.

Very rarely it falls to the lot of a man to have the extreme good fortune to be the member of a vast audience as the one witnessed last Saturday (16th May, 1931). It was a cosmopolitan gathering consisting of representative people of India and outside. Men from every walk of life came to offer their greetings and respectful homage to the world-poet and world-teacher, who has made the name of India respected in every corner of the civilized world. Echoes of the voice of Will Durant who wrote to Rabindranath—"You are the reason why India should be free"—seemed to reverberate through the Hall filled with the vast representative assembly of Indians and Europeans, Hindus and Mahomedans, Sikhs, Parsis, Jews and Christians.

Every available bit of space in the spacious Hall of the Institute was fully occupied and late-comers had to go away disappointed. Men like Sir C. V. Raman, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Sir J. C. Coyajee and Mr. Arthur Moore squatted on the *dais* like humble students learning at the feet of and paying homage to a great teacher and leader of thought in one that they assembled to honour.

Among those present at the meeting were Mrs. Kamini Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, Mr. Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya, Mr. P. Chaudhuri, the Maharaja of Cossimbazar, Sir J. C. Coyajee and Lady Coyajee, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Mr. A. P. Sen, Mr. Percy Brown, Mr. Arthur Moore, Col. Gidney, Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Mr. O. C. Gangoly, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerjee, Rev. W. S. Urquhart, Rai Jaladhar Sen Bahadur, Sir David Ezra, Dr. D. N. Maitra, Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu, the Hon. Mr. B. K. Basu, Moulvi Mujibar Rahaman, Maulana

Akram Khan, Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, Mr. Atul Gupta, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Rai Bahadur Nagendra Nath Banerjee, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Mr. Padam Raj Jain, Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyaya, Mr. Surendra Nath Mallick, Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen-Gupta, Mr. Sailapati Chatterjee, Mr. Anandji Haridas, Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj, Principal J. R. Banerjee, Sreemati Sita Devi, Sreemati Santa Devi, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mrs. P. Chaudhuri, Sreemati Mohini Debi, Rai P. N. Mookherjee Bahadur, Mr. Sisir Gupta, Mr. Girija Mohan Sanyal, Dr. H. W. B. Moreno, Prof. Charu Bhattacharjee, Mr. J. M. Sen, Mr. Anu Ghosh, Rai Abinash Chandra Mazumdar Bahadur, Rai Ramdeo Chokhany Bahadur, Mr. G. T. Garratt (author of *An Indian Commentary*), Mr. P. N. Tagore, Mr. Amal Home and others.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., D.Litt., C.I.E., presided.

On the motion of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal seconded by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri took the Chair.

In proposing Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri to the Chair, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal said that his heart leaped up with joy and pride when he thought that the Poet whom they met to offer homage was an international poet, thinker and missionary for peace. Rabindranath was one of the signatories to a peace manifesto issued by distinguished Europeans some time after the beginning of the Great War. Rabindranath gave expression to the life and spirit of Bengal. He unfolded them as much to his own people as to the wide world and also enriched the life and literature of Bengal. The Vaishnava poets were great sign posts in the march of Bengal's cultural progress and built up a tradition peculiar to the land. But Rabindranath made the tradition more complete and presented it to the world.

Messages were read wishing success to the movement from Dr. B. C. Roy, Mayor of Calcutta, Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, Mr. Hirendranath Datta and Alderman Subhas Chandra Bose who were unable to attend the meeting owing to absence from town.

Among others who sent messages of regret were Mr. G. D. Birla, Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhusan, Mr. E. C. Benthall, Raja Reshee Case Law, Prof. Radhakrishnan, Mr. M. A. Razzak (Deputy Mayor), the Hon. Sir Raja Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury of

Santosh, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Pandit Nagendra Nath Basu, Prachyavidya-maharnava, Prof. Nripendra Chandra Banerjee, Rai Rama Prasad Chanda Bahadur.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri in his presidential address said :—

I wonder why, of all men, the organisers of the Tagore Birth Anniversary have chosen me to be the President of the inaugural meeting to set the ball rolling. It is a puzzle to me, as I am a cloisterman and the Poet a man of world-wide fame. Perhaps the organisers thought that I am senior to him by several years, that he and I entered the field of Bengali Literature at one and the same time, that we both fell early under the irresistible spell of the genius of Bankim Chandra, and that he blessed both of us as rising spirits of the age.

Bankim Chandra's blessings have, however, borne abundant fruit in the case of Rabindranath whose rise has been phenomenal. And he is still rising. His fame has spread within thirty years not only from China to Peru, but also from Terra del Fuego to Alaska, and from Kamskatka to the Cape of Good Hope. He has risen higher and higher till he has soared to a height, whence the whole world unfolds its mystery.

He has tried all phases of Literature—couplets, stanza, short poems, longer pieces, short stories, longer stories, fables, novels and prose romances, dramas, farces, comedies and tragedies, songs, operas, *kirtans*, *palas*, and last but not least lyric poems. He has succeeded in every phase of Literature he has touched, but he has succeeded in the last phase of poetry beyond measures. His essays are illuminating, his sarcasms biting, his satires piercing. His estimate of old poets is deeply appreciative, and his grammatical and lexicographical speculations go farther inward than those of most of us. Blessed with noble parentage, blessed with leisure, blessed with competence, blessed with intellectual equipments of a high order and a charming presence, Nature seems to have designed him for the career he has chosen and the mission he has undertaken. He has made the best use of the gifts he has received from Nature, from society, from education and from his early associations. He has acquired fame not only for himself but for his country and his race as well. He has lived as an ideal poet as described by Raja-Sekhara a thousand years ago.

He has received his reward. The best reward of a poet is his own appreciation, his own satisfaction and his own complaisance. The world has honoured him ; the crowned heads of Europe have given him warm reception ; crowds of people have come wherever he has gone, to hear him, to appreciate him, and to admire him. Distant Scandinavia has given him a prize. But what have his countrymen done for him ? They have greedily read his books and received all the benefits of such study ; but how have they repaid the benefit ?

In ancient India, poets used to be rewarded in a variety of ways. The stories of Kalidas's ambassadorship, and even of his viceroyalty, are current to the present day. When India was parcelled out into small states, Bhavabhuti was an all-India power. But that was another India. India then had political power, and that makes the case of modern India quite different. Even in the near past, poets are known to have gained as much as six crores of rupees for a single stanza ; but these are exceptional instances. The great warrior, organiser and statesman, Sivaji, gave 52 elephants for 52 verses of Bhusana Kavi. Haranath, a wild poet, having squandered away the wealth given to his father by Akbar, gained 10 lakhs from the Raja of Baghelkhand for a single long verse ; but outside the gates of the palace, a blind poet presented him with a single short verse, and he got from Haranath a lakh of rupees out of his ten. In modern Rajputana, 'lakh-pasao' is an institution ; any poet writing smart verses gets from his Raja a lakh. I know Kaviraja Murardan received two such gifts ; his grand-father received three. The 'lakh-pasao' was a good means of rewarding poets. But we have no Rajas here in Bengal to give us lakhs. What are we to do to reward great poets or our great poet Rabindranath ?

These are democratic times. We should all read his poems. That would be his best reward, economically and intellectually, and, above all, let us show our appreciation by demonstrations like those that are going to be proposed. Let us celebrate his seventieth birth anniversary—a pretty long life in these days of famine and degeneration—with all heartiness.

BIRTH-DAY GREETINGS TO THE POET.

Mrs. Kamini Ray moved and Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj seconded the following resolution :—

"That this meeting offers its respectful greetings to Rabindranath Tagore and conveys to him its warm felicitations on his completing the seventieth year of his life."

Mrs. Kamini Ray in proposing the first resolution said that Rabindranath was not only a great poet but a great national worker and leader who has been an ideal to youths and a symbol of unity of the East and the West.

Maharani Sucharu Devi in seconding the resolution said that she would pay her tribute to the Poet in silence which was more eloquent than speech.

Mr. Arthur Moore, Editor of the *Statesman*, in supporting the resolution said Rabindranath Tagore was not only one of the greatest sons of Bengal, but through his writings that he had given to the world, he was one of the great citizens of the world. This magnificent meeting, added Mr. Moore, was the greatest tribute to the Poet.

Mr. A. P. Sen of Lucknow, the Hon'ble Mr. B. K. Basu, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Mr. Anandji Haridas, Mr. O. C. Gangoly and Dr. Nareish Chandra Sen-Gupta supported the resolution which was passed with acclamation.

BIRTH-DAY CELEBRATIONS IN CALCUTTA.

Sir C. V. Raman received a rousing ovation in moving the following resolution :—

“That this meeting is of opinion that the occasion of the Poet completing his seventieth year should be celebrated by his countrymen and all sections of the community in a fitting manner in Calcutta at a convenient time.”

Sir Chandrasekhar Raman in the course of his speech said that the award of Nobel Prize for Literature caused dissatisfaction every year ; for many questioned the justice of the award. It was a difficult task to make satisfactory award every year for poets ; for poets were rarer than scientists and good poets were rarer still. If awards for literature were made every twenty years, preferably once in a century, Rabindranath was certain to be chosen. Referring to celebration he said it should be held in *Maidan* and the ceremony should consist of having *darsan* of the Poet ; for they would be satisfied with nothing less than personal participation by the Poet in the celebration.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya, who was cheered for several minutes, said it was an impossible task to give a catalogue of Rabindranath's achievements. He suggested that the celebration should take the form of offering of heart's homage in a restrained manner. On this occasion they should remember that the two institutions with which Rabindranath was closely associated were *Visva-Bharati* and *Sri-Niketan*. Many would

say that they were mere dreams. It might be so, but they were not dreams of ordinary people but dreams of the world-poet. A fitting celebration of the seventieth birth-day anniversary of the poet should be by due recognition by his countrymen of the two institutions with which he had been so closely associated throughout the latter days of his life. It was not impossible that the poet might be nursing a grievance against his countrymen for their comparative failure so far to properly appreciate the utility of those institutions and on his birthday celebration they should do their best to make good their default.

Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Col. Gidney, Principal J. R. Banerjee, and Mr. C. C. Biswas supported the resolution which was also carried with acclamation.

Dr. Urquhart speaking as a man from Scotland said that there was no part of the civilized world in which the works of Dr. Tagore were more appreciated as in Scotland. It was peculiarly fitting that at this time when India was awakening to a sense of nationhood we should all celebrate the birthday of one who has taught us not only the value of his own nation but has taught us also the value of internationalism,—taught us to look beyond the boundaries which separate the countries and find realities and values of our common humanity.

Col. Gidney quoting a prayer of Rabindranath in verse, "Into that freedom let, my father, my country awake" said that no one could read his poems without being impressed by a sense of patriotism, a sense of duty to oneself or a sense of duty to the country.

On the motion of Mr. S. N. Mallick a representative committee with Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose as President was formed to give effect to the previous resolution.

Sir J. C. Coyajee, Maharaja Srish Chandra Nundy, Dr. Radhakumud Mookherjee, Mr. Padamraj Jain, Mr. O. C. Gangoly also spoke on the occasion.

Tribute by Newspapers.

Newspapers, both English and Bengali, gave wide publicity to the event in their news columns and paid eloquent tributes to the Poet, through editorial comments and contributed articles, featuring his portraits, and, in some cases, reproductions of some of his recent drawings. A selection of these is given below.

In the course of an article in the editorial columns, the *Statesman*, the leading European daily paper of Calcutta, observed:—

“Tagore is a great name, not only in this part of the world. An Indian who wins the Nobel Prize does not go unmarked in other countries, and Tagore has done more than win that. He has made a definite and peculiar contribution to the totality of modern English literature. He has given it something that has no exact counterpart, and English literature, as catholic in its welcome of what is valuable as Indian thought is, regards him as partly its own.”

The *Statesman* also published four portraits of the Poet representing him at four different periods of his life. In the latest of these, he is seen in the company of Einstein.

The *Advance*, which featured a magnificent portrait of the Poet covering in the whole of its front page and a full-page article about him, said, in the course of its leader:—

“The poet’s vision had gone beyond the range of sounds and colours and foreseen the future of man murdering in cold blood his brother man, ashamed of it indeed, but helpless before a relentless fate which urged them on. It is too early to judge how far the poet’s mission as an evangel of peace and friendship among nations has been successful, or whether it will ever attain measurable success. But should the present movement towards inter-nationalism bear any tangible result, Rabindranath Tagore would be counted as one of its pioneers in days when inter-nationalism was anathema to the nations of the world.”

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, writing in the *Englishman* of May, 11, observed:—

“Tagore, though justly counted among the greatest intellectual and spiritual forces of the present world, is, however, in a special sense, a Bengalee; and this message of his” (his birth day message) “is, therefore, also the message of the age-long culture and genius of his people.”

And again: “Tagore has been one of the prophets of our new nationalism if, indeed, he has not been *the* prophet of it. In the early years of the present century he entered a most powerful protest against the exploitation of his people by their present British masters. But though “as a measure of self-defence” he led a movement of self-assertion by his people, the clarity of his world-vision was never blurred by it, and he never consciously contributed to the ‘cultural misunderstanding’ of India and Europe.”

The literary supplement of the *Englishman* published a full-page portrait of the Poet, with a short biographical note.

Glowing tributes were also paid by the Bengali Press acknowledging the nation's debt to him and emphasising his contribution to world-thought.

The Corporation of Calcutta.

On the 22nd of May, 1931, the Corporation of Calcutta passed a congratulatory resolution. A short account of the proceedings is given below from the Calcutta Municipal Gazette of the 6th June, 1931.

At a meeting of the Corporation held on Friday, the 22nd May, 1931, Mr. Sachindra Nath Mukherjee moved a resolution congratulating the Poet Rabindranath on his completing the seventieth year. The following resolutions were passed unanimously :—

(i) That the Corporation of Calcutta expresses its cordial and respectful congratulations to India's national poet, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, on the happy event of his seventieth birthday.

(ii) That as one of the most eminent citizens of this great city who is acclaimed to-day as an outstanding world figure, the seventieth birthday of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore is a matter of special rejoicing to this Corporation.

(iii) That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Poet signed by the Mayor, wishing him many happy returns yet of the anniversary of his birthday, so that he may bring further glory to his country and nation.

The resolution was carried unanimously having been supported by Rev. B. A. Nag, and Mr. Saadatullah. The Deputy Mayor, who presided, also associated himself with the idea.

Calcutta, Dhurumtala.—The 70th anniversary of Dr. Tagore's birthday was celebrated in Collins High School. The function began with a prayer by Rev. H. M. Swan, the Principal of the School, and consisted of a varied and interesting programme. Mr. D. N. Mukherjee, a senior teacher of the school, moved a resolution on behalf of the teachers and the boys of the school wishing the poet still longer life.

Calcutta, Central Collegiate School.—The teachers and students of the Central Collegiate School, assembled at a meeting held in the school premises on Saturday, the 9th May, under the presidency of Mr. K. C. Basu, Barrister-at-Law, adopted a resolution congratulating Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on his completing his 70th birthday, and praying to the Almighty to spare him for many more years to come to continue his noble works in the cause of literature, nationalism and humanity.

North Calcutta Students' Association.—The North Calcutta District Students' Association celebrated the 70th birth-day ceremony of the

Poet at 79, Shambazar Street, on the 8th May. Various papers and poems on Rabindranath and his works were read.

The Sangha, a literary society, celebrated 'Rabindra Jayanti' at the Shyambazar A. V. School on Friday, the 8th May. Sj. J. N. Basu presided. The programme that was gone through included music, vocal and instrumental and recitation of a number of the poet's verses. Two sweet songs sung by two tiny girls added special charm to the function. Interesting papers on the life and teachings of Rabindranath were read and the poet's drama "Shesh Biksha" staged by members of "Amrita Chakra."

Celebrations in other places.

Celebrations were also held in many other places. The following notes have been compiled from the daily press.

Brahmanbarria.—In an atmosphere of deep solemnity and calm serenity Rabindra Jayanti Utsav was celebrated by the Friends' Union Club at Brahmanbarria. The newly opened club room was gaily decorated and a portrait of the poet was mounted on a raised platform. A prayer for the good health and peace of the "Rishi" was offered by the members.

Mymensingh.—The 70th birthday of Rabindranath was duly celebrated at Mymensingh under the auspices of the Rabindra Samsad. Sj. Mohit Lal Majumdar presided over the function. The programme included some songs of the poet, recitations of some poems of Rabindranath and some articles and poems composed for the occasion. The elite of the town joined to make the function successful in spite of extremely inclement weather.

Rajshahi.—Under the auspices of the Deshbandhu Kalyan Samity, Rajshahi, the birth anniversary of Rabindra Nath Tagore was performed with Sj. Provasi Chandra Lahiri in the chair. Sjs. Manash Govinda Sen and Suprakash Chakravarty spoke on Sj. Tagore's life and writings and several papers were also read.

Hooghly.—Under the auspices of the Hooghly Chandrama Sammilani the 70th birth anniversary of poet Rabindranath was celebrated on Friday the 8th May, at the Hooghly Arya Library Hall, Sj. Subodh Chandra Roy, ex-editor of the "Naba Sakti" presiding. There was a very large gathering of either sex representing the culture of the town. Speakers including Sj. Promatha Nath Sarkar, Professor of the Calcutta University College, and Pundit Gispathi Bhattacharji addressed the meeting.

Hooghly-Serampur.—Serampur Bani Mandir celebrated Rabindra Jayanti on Sunday the 10th May in their own premises.

Bansberiah.—Rabindra Jayanti was celebrated with great eclat by the people of Bansberiah, Hooghly, at the Bansberiah Public Library Hall.

under the presidency of Kumar Manindra Deb Roy Mahashaya of Bansberiah Raj. The president in a neat little speech dwelt on the outstanding features of the illustrious poet's life.

Dhubri.—The 70th birth-day anniversary celebration of poet Rabindra Nath Tagore was observed in a meeting at the local High School Hall, Dhubri, on the 8th May, S. Chakravarty presiding. There was a good attendance of ladies and gentleman of the town with a number of school boys and the proceeding began with an opening song sung by the ladies, after which there were recitations from the poet's well-known poems by boys and girls. Essays dealing with the life and literature of the poet and his contributions to the world's culture were read.

Netrokona.—The 70th birth-day of the Poet was celebrated on the 9th May by a musical entertainment performed by young boys and girls under the guidance of S. Sailajaranjan Majumdar. Mr. B. N. Chakravarty, I.C.S., the popular S.D.O. with many officials were present and gave some donations to the fund.

Barisal.—Rabindra Joyanti was celebrated in Chandrahari H. E. School, Barisal, with due solemnity where people from neighbouring villages gathered. Songs were sung, poems recited, essays read and prizes given to successful competitors in recitations and lectures given by Hari Prasad Guha Roy, Suresh Chandra Gupta and Durga Mohan Sen.

Cuttack.—Under the auspices of the Cuttack Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the 70th birth-day of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was observed on the 8th May. Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E., presided and the programme included songs, recitations and dramatic performances selected from the poet's works. Songs by Mrs. Malati Choudhury, an ex-student of Santiniketan, and by Miss Parul Sen were much appreciated. A congratulatory address has been sent to the Poet.

VISVA-BHARATI

Founder-President—RABINDRANATH TAGORE.



ANNUAL REPORT, 1930.

THE PRESIDENT.

Early in January the President visited Gujrat and delivered a course of lectures at Baroda.

The President's Visit to the West.—In the Autumn of 1928 the Hibbert Trustees had invited him to deliver the Hibbert lectures in England but owing to continued ill health he could not proceed to England that year and it was decided to postpone his departure for England until a later date. This year he accepted the invitation, and accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Rathindra Nath Tagore, Mr. E. W. Ariam and Mr. A. C. Chakravartty, left Calcutta for England in February, 1930. After a short stay in France he proceeded to England, and delivered the Hibbert Lectures in Oxford, which attracted a good deal of notice and were highly appreciated. He then went to Berlin where he stayed for some time with Dr. and Mrs. Mendel at Wannsee.

After an extensive lecture tour in Germany he went to Geneva for a short time where he discussed problems of international co-operation with notable men of many nationalities.

Visit to Moscow.—For a long time the Poet had been anxious to visit Russia but continued ill health prevented him from doing so. This year he accepted the invitation of the Soviet Government, and arrived in Moscow on the 11th of September. He was warmly received by the representatives of various scientific and literary societies of Moscow, and had opportunities of coming into close personal contact with the leaders of thought and action in Russia. He visited many educational and cultural institutions of the Soviet Republic, and personally observed the cultural, social and educational work undertaken by the Soviet Republic

for the betterment of the condition of the peasant masses. A detailed account of the President's visit to Russia has been published in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Vol. 8, 1930-31, Parts I and II, and has been reprinted as Bulletin No. 15, "Rabindranath Tagore in Russia" issued in November, 1930.

Visit to America.—On the 25th of September the Poet left Moscow, and started for the United States of America on the 3rd of October. There he fell ill and was compelled to cancel all engagements for some time. After a few week's rest his health improved slightly, and he again started a strenuous lecturing tour. At the end of November a big reception attended by more than 2,000 persons was arranged in his honour in New York.

He left the United States on the 18th of December, and reached England on the 23rd of December.

Exhibition of Drawings.—A notable feature of the present tour has been the Exhibitions of the Poet's Drawings which were held in Paris, London, Berlin, Munich, Moscow, New York, Philadelphia and other important art centres in Europe and America.

The Drawings aroused great interest among artists and art critics, and competent judges are of opinion that they are likely to have a permanent influence on future movement of art in Europe. A fuller account will be found in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Vol. 8, 1930-31, Part III.

The Future Programme. In spite of his indifferent health and physical weakness the President made strenuous efforts to raise funds for the *Visva-bharati*. We earnestly hope that he will succeed in placing his institution on a secure financial basis, so that there will be no need of his going out on arduous tours for collection of funds in future.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Office-bearers.—Narendranath Law worked as the Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer), upto the 16th September, 1930. On his departure for England, Indubhushan Sen was elected temporary Artha-Sachiva in his place from the 17th September, 1930. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis was the Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) throughout the year. Kishori Mohan Santra worked as Assistant General Secretary and was in charge of the General Office in Calcutta.

The Samsad (Governing Body) and Karma-Samiti (Working Committee).—There were 5 meetings of the Samsad (Governing Body) and 13 meetings of the Karma-Samiti (Working Committee) during the year.

In addition to the usual work of administration several items of importance were considered and committees were appointed to carry them out.

(i) *Land Settlement.*—We are glad to report that the Government of Bengal have finally accepted the proposed modification in the terms of the Land Acquisition Agreement which will allow us to lease out, on suitable conditions, plots of land at Santiniketan to members of the Visva-Bharati. After a careful consideration of various alternative schemes, a draft form of agreement was prepared in September. It has been approved by the Karma-Samiti and the Samsad, and on being confirmed by the Varshika Parishat will furnish a basis for the development of a Land Settlement Scheme. Our best thanks are due to Mr. Saroj Kumar Mukherji, Solicitor, and Mr. Sudhi Ranjan Das, Barrister-at-Law, for the ungrudging help accorded us in this connexion.

(ii) *Rules and Bye-laws.*—Departmental rules and bye-laws were framed by local Samitis in 1929. Other rules and bye-laws were added, and a consolidated body of rules was prepared and arranged in two parts, one of which would apply generally to all departments, and the other to particular institutions. They were considered at a meeting of the Karma-Samiti on the 16th September, approved by the Samsad on the 23rd December, and finally confirmed by the Varshika Parishat on the 24th December, 1930.

(iii) *Birthday Celebration Committee.*—A Committee consisting of Kalidas Nag, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, Charu Chandra Bhattacharya, Indubhushan Sen, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Amiya Chandra Chakravarty, Nanda Lal Bose, Kshiti Mohan Sen and Amal Home (Convenor) with powers to add to its number was appointed to take necessary steps for organizing the celebration, in a suitable manner, of the 70th birthday of the President in May, 1931. The Committee met several times during the year and drew up a programme for the purpose.

Re-organization Scheme.—Early in January, 1930, the President drew the attention of the Karma-Samiti to the unsatisfactory financial condition of the Visva-Bharati. Accordingly the Karma-Samiti at its meeting of the 29th January, 1930, appointed a sub-committee consisting

of Rathindranath Tagore, Promoda Ranjan Ghose, Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Debendra Mohan Bose, Jitendra Mohan Sen and Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis (Secretary) to draw up a scheme of re-organization. The Committee met several times and submitted a report which was considered by the Karma-Samiti on the 26th March and by the Samsad along with a note by P. C. Mahalanobis (Karma-Sachiva) on the 30th March, 1930.

On the financial side the Samsad issued definite instructions that in future the Visva-Bharati will not be liable for any expenditure incurred in excess of the amount sanctioned by the Samsad, and any officer incurring any such excess expenditure will be held personally liable for the same. It was decided that all donations, not otherwise disposed of in the Budget Estimates would be applied in future towards the liquidation of the liabilities of the General Fund.

The system of a Block Grant for current expenditure at Santiniketan was also definitely brought into effect from April, 1930 and the Budget for 1930-31 was framed on the same basis.

Removal of the General Office from Calcutta to Santiniketan.

In 1922 when the Visva-Bharati was formally organized the central office was situated at Santiniketan with a small branch office in Calcutta. With the rapid development of the work of the Visva-Bharati Sammilani and of the Publishing Department, the Calcutta Office also had to be enlarged considerably. Owing to the increasing association of members resident in Calcutta with the work of the Samsad and the original Finance Committee (which was later transformed into the present Karma-Samiti) it was found convenient to deal with all committee and constitutional work and general correspondence from Calcutta, while the finance and accounts section continued to be located in Santiniketan. This arrangement continued till the end of 1924. Early in 1925 it was decided to remove the accounts section also to Calcutta and in May, 1925 the change was effected. Since then for nearly 6 years the whole of the work of the General Office has been conducted from Calcutta.

There has always been a feeling among many members of the Visva-Bharati, especially among those resident at Santiniketan, that it would be more in keeping with the history of the institution to locate the General Office at Santiniketan. Up till now it has been thought advisable, however, to secure the active co-operation of the Calcutta group workers by retaining the General Office in Calcutta. The period of building up the administrative machinery may now be considered to have been definitely concluded. The Statutes and Regulations have been supplemented, this year, by a comprehensive set of Rules and Bye-laws. The

separation of all Capital and Trust Funds has also been completed, and detailed procedures have been drawn up for financial administration and audit.

The removal of the General Office to Santiniketan at this stage is likely to lead to a more unified administrative control. It is also likely to make it possible for the Karma-sachiva, who will be resident at Santiniketan, in future, to take a larger initiative in the management of the different institutions at Santiniketan and Sriniketan. The termination of the triennial term of office of the present incumbent makes it extremely convenient to effect this change this year, and the Samsad kept this purpose in view in nominating Rathindranath Tagore for the office of the Karma-sachiva.

Islamic Studies.—Dr. Julius Germanus continued to hold the Nizam Chair for Islamic Studies during the year under review. He delivered courses of lectures on Islamic culture, and wrote a series of four articles on Modern Movements in Islam for the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*. He is engaged in a detailed study of recent movements of Islam in India.

Mr. Bogdanov worked as a Lecturer in Persian up to June, 1930.

Zoroastrian Studies.—Dr. Michael Collins and Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala held the two Zoroastrian Professorships under the Zoroastrian Fund up to the end of September, 1930. Dr. Collins, who was the resident Professor at Santiniketan, participated in the works of the Vidya-bhavana (Research Institute) and of the Santiniketan College. Dr. Taraporewala delivered no lectures at Santiniketan during the year under review.

The appointments under Zoroastrian Fund having terminated in September, 1930, the provisional trustees in Bombay were requested to communicate their views regarding future arrangements, and also to take necessary steps for placing the future administration of the fund on a permanent basis.

BARODA GRANT.

Quinquennial Report.—During the year under review we received, for the sixth time, Rs. 6,000/- from H. H. the Gaekwad of Baroda. A short account of the work done with this grant during the last five years is given below.

Two Research Professorships in the Vidya-bhavana (Research Institute) at Santiniketan, held respectively by Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya,

Sastri, and Pandit Kshitimohan Sen, M.A., Sastri, were maintained from this grant. A whole-time Tibetan Research Assistant, Mr. Sonam-Ngo Drub, has also been employed for helping the Professors in their work.

The work done by the Research Professors can be most conveniently described under the following heads:—(1) Teaching work, (2) Research, (3) Supervision and direction of research work by advanced students.

Teaching Work.—Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya delivered advanced lectures on the following subjects in the years noted within brackets.

Vedic Sanskrit : (1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929).

Tibetan : (1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929).

Buddhist Philosophy : (1926, 1927, 1928, 1929).

Buddhist Logic : (1928, 1929).

Jainism : (1927).

Prakrit : (1924, 1927, 1928).

Pali : (1926, 1927).

Vedānta : (1924).

Pandit Kshitimohan Sen delivered lectures on:—

Mediaeval Indian Religions : (1926, 1927, 1928).

Indian Mysticism : (1928).

Nāthism and Yogī Cult : (1926).

Sanskrit Literature : (1925, 1929).

Research Work.—Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya completed the following pieces of original researches:—

(1) A Critical Edition of the *Āgamasāstra of Gauḍapāda*.

(2) A Comparative Tibeto-Sanskrit Edition of *Dināga's Nyāyapraveśa* (published in Gaekwad's Oriental Series).

(3) *Mahāyānavimśaka* by *Nāgārjuna* from Tibetan and Chinese sources (*Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Vol. 8, Parts I & II, 1930-31).

(4) *Dināga's Akṣara-Sataka* from Tibetan sources.

(5) *Ārya-deva's Catuḥśataka* from Tibetan sources, (*Visva-Bharati Studies* No. 1).

(6) Buddhist *Tāntrik Sādhana* in the Tibetan version.

(7) A paper on "the Doctrine of Ātman and Anātman," (Proceedings, Indian Oriental Congress, 1929).

(8) A paper on "*Sandhā-bhāṣā*."

(9) Jointly with Prof. G. Tucci:—A critical edition of *Madhyānta-vibhāga-vṛtti-ṭīkā* by Sthiramati.

(10) Several papers on Avesta and other subjects.

Since 1923 Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya has also been engaged in the systematic collation of the Mahabharata Mss., in collaboration with the Bhandarkar Research Institute of Poona.

Pandit Kshitimohan Sen has completed the following works:—

(1) A comprehensive account of the Life and Works of *Dādū* (to be published in the *Visva-Bharati Studies*).

(2) An account of the the *Bāuls*.

He has started writing a History of the Religious Movements in Mediaeval India (an outline of which was given in a course of lectures delivered by him in 1929 as the Adharachandra Mukherjee Lecturer of the Calcutta University), and also a book on *Rajjabjī's Vāṇīs*. He made extensive tours in Western India and collected the songs and works of Indian Mystics.

Supervision of Research.—Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya has worked as the *Adhyaksa* of the *Vidya-bhavana* (Director of the Research Institute) since the foundation of the institution, and has directed and supervised the advanced studies and researches carried on in the institution.

The following researches were completed under his direct supervision and guidance.

(1) H. R. Rangaswami Iyenger, M.A. (now working in the Mysore University): *Diñnāga's Pramāṇa-samuccaya* from Tibetan sources.

(2) N. Ayyaswami (now working in Madras): *Buddhacarita* from Tibetan sources.

(3) Durga Charan Chatterji, M.A. (Bengal Government Research Scholar, now Professor of Sanskrit at Krishnagar College): *Yogāvatāra* from Tibetan sources.

(4) Durga Charan Chatterji, M.A.: *Hetutattvopadeśa* of *Jetāri* from Tibetan sources.

(5) Durga Charan Chatterji, M.A.: A short paper on *Pustaka-pathopāya* (existing only in Tibetan translation).

(6) Sujitkumar Mukherjee: *Nairātma-paripṛcchā*, restored from Tibetan with notes and introduction. (*Visva-bharati Quarterly*, Vol. 8, 1930-31, Parts I & II).

- (7) Sujitkumar Mukherjee: Introductory part of *Mūlamādhyaṃika-Vṛtti* of Buddha-pāṇita from Tibetan.
- (8) Sujitkumar Mukherjee: *Tri-svabhāva-nirdeśa*, an edition comparing Sanskrit and Tibetan version.
- (9) Prabhubhai Patel: Āryadeva's *Citta-Viśuddhi-prakaraṇa* with comparison of Tibetan translations.
- (10) Prabhubhai Patel: Nāgārjuna's commentary on *Mūla-madhyamaka Kārikā* from Tibetan versions.
- (11) Prabhubhai Patel: *Subhāsita-saṃgraha*, a new edition.
- (12) Kapilesvar Miśra: A critical edition of the *Brahma-sūtras*.
- (13) Manubhai Patel: The Kāṇva and Mādhyandina rescensions of the *Bṛhdāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.
- (14) Manomohan Ghosh: An Index of each pada of the śloka in *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*.
- (15) Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A.: Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature (*Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Vol. 7, April and Vol. 8, Parts I & II).
- (16) Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A.: Translation of Nyāya-dīpikā.
- (17) Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A.: A short treatise on Indian Logic.
- (18) Rakesh Chandra Sarma, M.A.: The Yogācāra system of Buddhist Philosophy.
- (19) Dulare Sahai: A Hindi translation of the Pali work *Dīgha-Nikāya*.
- (20) Anathnath Basu, B.A.: *Tattva-svabhāva-dṛṣṭi-gītikā-dōā* of Luipāda, with comparison of Tibetan and Old Bengali Texts.
- (21) Anathnath Basu, B.A.: *Vimalaratnalekhā*, with Sanskrit and English translations, from Tibetan sources.
- (22) Anathnath Basu, B.A.: *Sīlaṭṭhā* of Vasubandhu, reconstructed from Tibetan with notes and introduction.
- (23) Anathnath Basu, B.A.: Some Old Bengali songs in Tibetan.
- (24) Nītaibinod Goswami: *Vibhāvanī Tīkā* on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*.
- (25) Nagendranarayan Chaudhuri: A critical edition of the *Ḍaṇḍava* with the help of its Tibetan version.
- (26) Haridas Mitra, M.A.: A monograph on Gaṇapati.
- (27) Premsundar Bose, M.A.: A critical edition of *Sarvasiddhānta-sārasaṅgraha*.

Pandit Kṣhitimohan Sen supervised the following researches:—

the expenses for maintaining a fellowship at Santiniketan to be held for the present by Mr. Nalin Chandra Ganguly.

No. B-13/30. Cheap's Kuthi Fund.—The sum of Rs. 5,000/- received from Mr. L. K. Elmhirst was constituted into a fund and was earmarked for a well and a shed at Cheap's Kuthi in accordance with the wishes of the donor.

No. C-4/29. President's Fund.—The donations received by the President have been constituted into a fund to be administered by the President.

Old Funds.—In accordance with a resolution of the Samsad dated the 30th March, 1930, all outstanding loans to the General Fund were fully repaid.

B-2/22. Sriniketan Fund. The Government of Bengal sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 3,000/- for 3 years, and the sum of Rs. 3,000/- was received during the year under review for agricultural development.

Miscellaneous.—Pandits Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, and Kshitimohan Sen, Dr. Julius Germanus, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, and Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis attended the Oriental Conference held at Patna in December, 1930, as delegates from the Visva-Bharati, and Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya presided over the Vedic section of the conference.

SANTINIKETAN

SANTINIKETAN.

Pramada Ranjan Ghosh remained in charge as Santiniketan-Sachiva throughout the year under review.

General Progress.—In 1929 the President had formulated a detailed programme of work for the different institutions at Santiniketan. The workers, although lacking the inspiration of his personal guidance, made every effort to carry out the President's directions. The financial administration of the different departments were on the whole stabilized, and the internal organization was improved in many respects.

Santiniketan Samiti.—The Santiniketan Samiti met 12 times during the year and directed the ordinary work of administration through the usual Standing Committees for the Vidya-bhavana, Siksha-bhavana, Patha-bhavana, the Library, Sanitation, Sports, Up-keep, Hospital etc.

Festivals.—The “Varsh-Mangal and Briksha-ropana” (Rains and Tree planting Festival) was celebrated in August, and a performance of “Dak-ghar” was arranged in September.

VIDYA-BHAVANA (RESEARCH INSTITUTE).

Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya worked as Adhyaksha of the Vidya-bhavana (Director of the Research Institute) throughout the year.

Staff.—In the year under review the staff consisted of Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya (Director) ; Kshiti Mohan Sen, M.A. ; M. Collins, Ph.D. ; L. Bogdanov ; Ten Yen Shen ; Sonam Ngo Drub ; Julius Germanus, Ph.D. (Nizam Professor of Islamic Studies).

Students.—Besides 10 regular students, 2 teachers and 28 students of other departments attended the advanced courses of lectures. Among them 4 came from China, and one, a girl from Japan.

Stipends.—Two students enjoyed stipends, and the work done by them was satisfactory. Both of them were studying Tibetan and Chinese.

Courses of Lectures.—The following courses of lectures were given during the year. The number within brackets shows the number of students attending the course.

Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya: *Tibetan* (2), *Buddhism* (2) *Buddhist Logic* (2), *Vedic Sanskrit* (1), *Prakrit* (4).

Kshitimohan Sen: *Sanskrit* (3).

M. Collins: *Indo-Iranian Philology* (2).

Julius Germanus: *Turkish* (1), *Arabic* (2), *German* (8). He also delivered a series of general lectures on the history of Turkey.

L. Bogdanov: *Persian* (1), *French* (16).

Ten Yan Shen: *Chinese* (2).

Sonam Ngo Drub: *Tibetan*. He was specially engaged in copying and collating Tibetan Xylographs.

Research Work by Students.—Seed Ansari made a special study of the Anthro-po-geographical Conception of History of Ibn-i-khaldun.

Prabhubhai Patel continued the work begun last year: (1) a critical edition of *Cittavisuddhiprakarana* with the Tibetan text, and (2) a critical and new edition of the *Subhasitasamgraha*.

Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya finished (1) a new edition of the *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa* of Vasubandhu with the Tibetan version, and (2) a restoration in Sanskrit of *Tarkamudgarika* of Jayananda of Kashmir from its Tibetan version. He was also engaged in (3) restoring in Sanskrit from the Tibetan text, the *Pāṇinivṛkharanasūtra*, arranged in a different order.

Research Work by the Members of the Staff.—Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya: (1) continued the work begun last year jointly with Prof. Dr. G. Tucci, viz., editing the Tika of Sthiramati on Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Madhyanta-vibhaga* of Maitreyanatha. The first chapter has been sent to the press. (2) He has started preparing an edition of the *Yuktisastikārikā* by Nāgārjuna, an important work of the Madhyamika school, in its Tibetan version together with the restored Sanskrit text. (3) He also wrote a number of papers on various subjects, one of them being the Presidential Address for the Vedic Section of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna.

J. Germanus wrote the following papers: (1) New Movements in the World of Islam, (2) Glossary to *Majani-Adat ti hadark ul-Arab*, (3) Eighty years of Turkish culture, (4) The Dervishes of the Janissaries, (5) Arabic and Latin script in Turkey.

M. Collins continued his work on the Indus Seals.

Kshitimohan Sen was engaged in preparing: (1) The Life and Sayings of Kabir in which he is incorporating a good deal of rare and hitherto

unpublished material; (2) The Life and Sayings of Anandaghana, a Jaina mystic of the 17th century; (3) The work of Rajjab, a disciple of Dadu, which was begun last year, did not progress much owing to lack of material, a good deal of which is lying scattered in different parts of Rajputana.

Work by the Members of the Santiniketan Staff.—Nagendra Narayan Chaudhuri continued the work of preparing an edition of the *Āpabhramsa* portion of the *Dākarnava* with the Tibetan text.

Publications.—During the year under review a new series of research memoirs was started under the name of Visva-Bharati Studies. The following numbers are nearly ready for publication.

No. 2. *Mahāyānaviṃśaka* by Nāgārjuna. Tibetan, Chinese, and Restored Sanskrit Text with Notes by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.

No. 3. *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature* by Amulya Chandra Sen.

No. 4. *Nairātmapariṣṭchā* with Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts by Sujit Kumar Mukhupadayaya.

The two following studies will be published almost immediately :

No. 1. *The Brahma-Sūtras* with different commentaries by Kapileswar Bhattacharya.

No. 5. *Catuh-Sataka*. Sanskrit and Tibetan text with copious extracts from *Chandrakīrti's* Commentary with restorations of lost texts by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.

Collation of the Mahabharata MSS.—The work was continued throughout the year in collaboration with the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.

Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya writes in his sectional report : “We have been greatly handicapped for the lack of scholarships without which it is not possible to attract advanced students. In fact, there was only one student in the Islamic branch, and no student at all for the special subject, mediæval Indian Mysticism. It is absolutely essential to provide a certain sum of money for the award of a few scholarships to serious students.

“While Tibetan Studies are progressing steadily, Chinese studies have declined to some extent. This is mainly owing to the fact that Mr. Ten Yan Shen, the Chinese teacher, to whom we must remain ever grateful for his kind and faithful services, went back to his country after the first half of the year. A Chinese student of this Col-

lege department helped us, however, to some extent. But this arrangement was not satisfactory at all. In this connexion I should like to suggest that something should be done to secure the services of a permanent Professor who knows not only Chinese but also Sanskrit very well. The want of books was keenly felt throughout the year."

SIKSHA-BHAVANA (SANTINIKETAN COLLEGE).

Nalin Chandra Ganguly was in charge throughout the year as Principal.

The College worked this year under the general unfavourable conditions prevailing all over the country. Strenuous efforts were made to raise the standard of teaching and appreciable progress may be recorded in the activities of this department.

Staff.—In Economics Thakur Bhalchandra Banerji joined in the place vacated by Dhires Chandra Roy Choudhury. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty was called away to Europe by the Society of Friends; his absence for about a full year has been felt very keenly. Miss Asha Adhikary and Mrs. Sudhamoyee Mukherjee have rendered valuable services to the College in teaching Sanskrit and Bengali. Sri Chandra Sen resigned his post in the course of the first term.

The present Staff consists of:—Nepal Chandra Roy, B.A., B.L.; Probhat Kumar Mukherjee; Promada Ranjan Ghosh, M.A., B.T.; Boyd W. Tucker, M.A. (Chicago); Aimiya Chandra Chakravarty, M.A.; Nalin Bihari Mitter, M.A.; Sailes Chandra Chakravarty, M.Sc.; Thakur Bhalchandra Banerji; Nitai Binode Goswami, Kavyatirtha, Sutravisharad; Nagendranarayan Choudhury, M.A.; Kshitimohan Sen, Shastri, M.A.; Asha Adhikary, M.A.; Sudhamoyee Mukherjee, B.A.; Rai Saheb Jagadananda Roy; Sachindranath Mukerjee, M.Sc.; Santosh Bihary Bose, L.Ag.; Gour Gopal Ghosh, B.Sc.; Trigunananda Roy, B.Sc.; Monomohan De; Nalin Chandra Ganguly, M.A. (Birm.).

Chemistry Classes.—Early in the year the Chemistry Laboratory at Sriniketan was equipped for teaching work up to the Intermediate Science standard, and a first year Intermediate class was opened in July, 1930. As there is already provision for teaching Mathematics and Botany it will be now possible for our students to appear in the I.Sc. examination of the Calcutta University.

Arrangements for Science teaching cannot, however, be considered satisfactory until we are in a position to open classes in Physics. We are hoping to be able to do so in 1931.

Students.—In December, 1929, the number on the roll was 50 (37 boys and 13 girls) as against 15 in 1928. In December, 1930, the total number rose to 76 (60 boys and 16 girls). Class by class the total is distributed as follows :—1st year Arts 20, 1st year Science 9, 2nd year 21, 3rd year 13, 4th year 13.

The various student societies, the Economic, the Historical, the Philosophical, the Literary, and the Debating, were liberally helped with guidance and encouragement by the members of the staff. The Economic Society has done excellent work regarding village survey and village reconstruction, both boys and girls having taken prominent part in their own spheres. An educational tour and classes in camps were other interesting features of student activities.

Three students have nearly finished the Visva-Bharati course, and they expect to receive the College Final Certificates at the end of the academic year. There are 12 students for the Visva-Bharati Mid-collegiate course.

The result of the last I.A. examination of the Calcutta University was satisfactory. All the candidates passed ; one girl was placed in the 1st, three in the 2nd and a boy in the 3rd division respectively.

PATHA-BHAVANA.

E. W. Ariam was in charge of the Santiniketan School up to February, 1930. After his departure from India Jagadananda Roy has been in charge.

General Progress.—In the year under review the members of the staff have been trying to work out the educational programme laid down by the Founder-President. The relation between the teacher and the pupil has been one of great cordiality, and the spirit of mutual help and understanding has pervaded the atmosphere of the institution. Attempts have been made to make education a matter of joy through such activities as excursions, picnics, and festivals, and to foster a sense of responsibility by entrusting the students with various duties of communal life.

Self-government has been made the key-note of discipline among the pupils. The girl students have also started their own committees for

participating in the privileges of self-government. It is hoped that both boys and girls, before they go out of the institution, will have their sense of responsibility sufficiently developed to enable them to face the realities of life with confidence.

Staff.—There have been a number of changes in the personnel of the teaching staff. Satyajiban Pal, Visvanath Mukerjee, Anath Nath Bose, Jagannath Prosad Millind and Narendra Nath Nandi left us during the year. We acknowledge with gratitude the devoted service they rendered to the institution. Manindra Nath Das Gupta, Mohit Chandra Banerjee, Hazari Prosad Dwivedi and Anukana Das Gupta joined the institution at different times of the year under review.

The present staff consists of :—

Jagadananda Roy, Nagendra Nath Aich, Tejcs Chandra Sen, Hari Charan Banerjee, Tanayendra Nath Ghose, Manindra Nath Das Gupta, Nitai Binode Goswami, Profulla Das Gupta, Mohit Chandra Banerjee, Probhat Kumar Mukerjee, Nepal Chandra Roy, Promoda Ranjan Ghose, Dharendra Mohon Sen, Nripendra Nath Dutt, Hem Bala Sen, Asha Adhikari, Anukana Das Gupta, Rama Devi, Sukumari Devi, Bhakti Devi, V. Masoji, Dinendra Nth Tagore, J. N. Sen, Binode Bihari Mukherjee, Ranjit Singh, Santimoy Ghose, Baidyanath Ghose, and Hazari Prosad Dwivedi.

Sreejukta Asha Adhikari, M.A., joined the institution in March, 1930 at great personal sacrifice and took charge of the junior section. The enthusiasm and single-minded devotion which she brought to her work has gathered a group of earnest workers round her, and the Sisuvibhaga has become a real home for the younger children.

Students.—The session began on the 3rd January, 1930, with 126 students on the roll against 140 in 1929. The number of students on the 30th November, 1930, came up to 142 of which 99 were boys and 43 girls. The number of admissions was 82 against 66 withdrawals. 13 candidates were sent up for the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University (1930). Among them 3 passed in the First, 3 in the Second and 1 in the Third Division. One of the girl students, Amita Sen, stood first in Bengali, and won two medals awarded by the Calcutta University.

Health.—The health of the students was on the whole good. A resident physician kept them under constant observation, and gave them suitable advice whenever necessary. The management of the kitchen

was transferred to the Lady Superintendent assisted by a matron. This led to a considerable improvement in the quality of the food.

As usual the boys took great interest in football, cricket, volley ball, badminton, etc. Provision was also made for certain indigenous games. Several visiting teams came to Santiniketan in the football season and the inmates had the opportunities of witnessing a number of interesting games.

Through the beneficence of the Founder-President Mr. S. Takagaki, a great exponent of Judo (the Japanese system of physical culture), was brought out to India last year. He continued to train both boys and girls in the "gentle art of Judo" with all possible care and attention.

Cultural Activities.—The students actively participated in the different seasonal festivals and in a successful performance of the Poet's "Dak-ghar" (Post Office). Cultural subjects like painting, music, and dancing were very popular. Special efforts were made to arouse the interest of the school children in Carpentry and Weaving. Jujitsu has been a new attraction and many students have enthusiastically availed themselves of this privilege.

Jagadananda Ray writes: "We acknowledge with gratitude the services rendered by S^r. Dinendranath Tagore in connexion with the teaching of music and the successful celebration of the different festivals and musical performances which formed a distinctive feature of the institution. Our thanks are also due to the other members of the Music School for their ungrudging help. Finally we offer our sincere thanks to other departments at Santiniketan and Sriniketan for their willing co-operation."

KALA-BHAVANA (SCHOOL OF ART).

Nanda Lal Bose was in charge of the department for the year under review.

Staff.—The present staff consists of Nandalal Bose, Surendranath Kar, V. Masoji, Binode Bihari Mukherjee and Sukumari Devi.

Students.—The total number of whole-time art students was 22 out of which 8 were g^rl students. A few casual girl students from the College also attended the art classes besides the school students, both boys and girls from the 2nd class downward, who came for Drawing and Embroidery.

Exhibitions.—Works from our school were sent as usual to different annual exhibitions in various places in India and Ceylon. In Santi-

niketan, several small exhibitions were organized from time to time in which exhibits of embroidery, batik work, wood block printing, painting and sketches of various artists were shown. A special exhibition of toys of various countries was also arranged.

New Crafts.—Batik work was introduced in the Crafts Section and was enthusiastically taken up by some of the students who attained a high standard of production.

Other Activities.—The members of the staff and the students of the Kala-bhavana helped in organizing the different festivals in the Asrama such as the New Year Festival, *Dol Purnima*, (Spring Festival), *Varsha Utsav*, (the Festival of the Rains), *Briksha-Ropan*, (the Arbour Day), *Sita-Yajna* (the Ploughing Day) and also in decorating exhibitions and pandals, and in staging dramatic performances.

Old Students.—Among the old students, Birbhadra Chitra has been appointed Superintendent of the Madras School of Art; P. Hariharan has proceeded to Japan for learning pottery; Anukana Das Gupta is serving in the school department and Indusudha Ghose at Sriniketan. Manindrabhusan Gupta and Ramkinkar Baej have been living in Santiniketan for some time and have assisted in the work of the art school. Some of the older students have organized a guild called "Karu-Sangha" with the object of supplying to the general public various artistic works such as Designing, Fresco-painting, Terra-cotta work, Embroidery, Batik etc., and also for publishing art works. It is hoped that the "Karu-Sangha" will enable us to keep some of the old students actively connected with the Kala-bhavana.

Visitors.—A large number of people visited the Museum and the Art School during the year, and their keen interest and sympathy were deeply appreciated by the workers. Two Hungarian lady artists stayed in the Asram for seven months.

Gifts.—The Founder-President wrote a New Bengali Primer in two parts, *Sahaj Path* Parts I and II, and arranged that the entire sale-proceeds should be credited to the Kalabhavana Fund so as to enable the Kala-bhavana to provide training in Art-crafts. We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of various publications on art from some of our friends.

Urgent Needs.—The Endowment Fund is not adequate to meet the growing needs of the institution. Rs. 12,000/- is urgently required for building a hostel to accommodate at least 20 students, and Rs. 2,500/- for constructing a shed for housing the craft section. It is also necessary to provide a few scholarships to enable deserving students to continue

their work at Santiniketan a little longer, and also to make it possible for them to visit important art centres in India. We earnestly appeal to all lovers of art for donations.

KALA-BHAVANA : MUSIC SECTION.

Dinendranath Tagore was in charge of the Music School, and was assisted by Rama Devi, Ranjit Sinha, and Santimaya Ghosh.

The average number of students in this section was about 70 during the year. The Music School is very seriously hampered for want of funds. The teacher of instrumental music works 6 hours a day and yet cannot give individual attention to all the students. Formerly all the younger children used to be thoroughly trained in singing. We cannot do so any longer ; and this is the reason why it has become so difficult to find good singing voices among the younger pupils. In spite of difficulties a number of successful music festivals were held in 1930, and the members of the staff and students actively co-operated in arranging Asram festivals on many occasions.

LIBRARY.

General.—The Visva-Bharati Library comprises the following sections :—

(1) General Library at Santiniketan, (2) Manuscript Library, (3) Art Library, (4) Sriniketan Library, (5) Tibetan Library, and (6) Children's Section.

Probhat Kumar Mukherjee was in charge as Librarian throughout the year.

Number of Books.—The total number of books in the library was about 38,000 at the end of October, 1930.

The general accession was particularly poor in 1930.

Issues.—There was a big increase in the number of issues during the year owing to the expansion of the college classes. The total number of books issued during the year was over 15,000, out of which nearly 10,000 were issued to the students.

SREE-BHAVANA.

Miss Hembala Sen worked as the Lady Superintendent throughout the year.

The average number of girl boarders was 48. Three girls passed the I.A. and four girls the Matriculation examination of the Calcutta

University. One of the Matriculates, Amita Sen, stood first in Bengali.

Besides the ordinary school subjects, the girls learn embroidery, needle-work, alpana etc.; two girls attended the weaving school at Sriniketan. Special stress is laid on music, and every girl is required to learn singing and playing at least one instrument. In the Kala-bhavana a number of girl students are working whole-time on drawing and painting ; some of them have also taken up batik-work.

The unique feature of the Sree-bhavana is, however, its community life. The girl students, under the supervision of the members of the staff, are entrusted with the entire responsibility of managing the Sisuvibhaga (Children's Section). In this way they obtain training in cooking, domestic economy, household management, and the care of children in intimate contact with life.

The health of the students continued to be satisfactory throughout the year. They play outdoor games regularly, and go out for long walks. Many of them are learning dagger and lathi play, and Jujitsu.

Healthy outdoor activities, cultural studies and community life offer opportunities of education not available in other institutions, and it is gratifying to note that there has been a rapid but steady growth of this branch of the Visva-Bharati.

SRINIKETAN.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Rathindranath Tagore was in charge of the Institution during the first four months of the year under review. He left for Europe in March, and Gour Gopal Ghose was appointed to act as Sriniketan-Sachiva during his absence.

Sriniketan-Samiti.—The Sriniketan-Samiti met 11 times during the year and the attendance of local members was satisfactory.

Kalimohan Ghose, Santosh Bihari Bose and Gour Gopal Ghose were elected respectively Superintendents of Village Welfare, Agriculture, and Industry Departments. Premchand Lal having left for England last year on study leave, Kalimohan Ghose remained in charge of Education Department during the year.

Appointments, Resignations and Leave.—The appointment of Dhirendramohan Sen M. A., Ph. D. (Lond.) by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst after consulting the Samiti, as a Research Psychologist for one year from March, 1930, was a great help to the Institution. He took special charge of the Siksha-Satra boys and carried on certain experiments in Rural Education.

P. Hariharan of the 'Crafts' section resigned for going to Japan for further study in Wood Block Printing and Commercial Art, and Srimati Indusudha Ghose of Kalabhavana (Santiniketan) was appointed in his place.

The following new appointments were also made during the year :—Mrs. K. Kasahara (Education), Trigunananda Roy (Laboratory), T. Kono (Carpentry), Santosh K. Roy (Dispensary).

The services of Santosh Bihari Bose of the Agricultural Department of the Government of Bengal were retained for a further period of one year on the same terms.

Kalimohan Ghose of the Village Welfare Section was granted leave with full pay for four months from November, 1930, for going to England on Visva-Bharati work. He intends to visit various centres of Rural Reconstruction work in foreign countries.

General Progress.—Owing to the absence abroad of the Founder-President and of Rathindranath Tagore, Sriniketan-Sachiva, the activities of the Institution suffered to a very great extent. On the whole, how-

ever, appreciable progress was made in all the departments as will be evident from the departmental reports. It is gratifying to note that the number of students and apprentices increased beyond expectations ; in fact we are finding it difficult to provide them with proper accommodation.

Land Development.—The Demonstration Farm has been extended on the northern side by about 12 acres, and has been properly laid out and fenced. Its present area will be about 100 Bighas. On the north of the Dairy Buildings one big embankment over 600 ft. in length has been erected to regulate the water course of the Fodder Farm and to store the surplus water in the farm tank. The waste lands on the east of Cheap's Kuthi and on the south of Surul Danga Santhal villages have now been brought under cultivation and properly laid out in acre plots. A further area of about 80 Bighas of waste land on the east and south of Balimajhipara has been similarly laid out. It is estimated that about 60 or 70 acres of new paddy land have thus been added to the Farm. These fields are expected to yield a fairly good return within the next few years. Erection of Boundary Pillars on the borders of the newly acquired land have been completed.

Roads.—The road which was started last year has been completed. Various other minor roads were also constructed in different parts of the Institution.

Orchard and Gardens.—Successful attempts were made to grow certain fruit trees on the southern and western banks of the tank within the compound, and over 200 lemon grafts were planted in the plot on the south of the office building. Crafts of flowering trees and plants have been planted along the roads and at suitable places within the compound.

Buildings.—A new house was erected for which a donation of £200 was received from Mr. L. K. Elmhirst. It has been named after Kasahara who served the Institution with devotion and loyalty till his death in 1927. The well at Cheap's Kuthi was also completed at a cost of Rs. 1,372-4-0 which was met from an earmarked fund of Rs. 5,000/- created by a donation from Mr. L. K. Elmhirst.

Sriniketan Library.—Sudhindra Kumar Sen was in charge of the Sectional Library at Sriniketan which contains about 1,000 books and reports on agriculture and allied subjects. A number of Indian and foreign newspaper and journals are also kept in the reading rooms.

Sriniketan Laboratory.—The Sriniketan Laboratory which was started last year has now been fairly equipped for holding both Practical and Theoretical classes in Chemistry and Botany. Besides the Inter-

mediate Science students of the Santiniketan College, the Farm and Workshop apprentices are receiving instructions in Chemistry, Botany and Elementary Physics. Popular lectures on Elementary Sciences for Siksha-Satra and other village boys of the weaving section were also given. Sachindranath Mukherji, M. Sc., was in charge of the Laboratory and he was assisted by Trigunanda Roy, B.Sc. Mr. Mukherji has been carrying on certain researches on the "Variation of the Electric Charge on Colloid Particles" for which he brought the necessary apparatus at his own risk from the Science College, Calcutta.

Sriniketan Observatory.—Manindra Chandra Roy, who has been recognized by the Meteorological Department as an Auxiliary Observer, was in charge of this section; he was assisted in his work by another member of the staff. A number of valuable instruments was lent to us from the Alipore Observatory, and "The Daily Weather Report" of the Calcutta Meteorological office was supplied free of charge. On the advice of the Inspector of Observatories minor changes were made in the enclosure where the Rain Gauge and other instruments are kept and also in placing of the new Barometer. Our station is now equipped with all the necessary instruments and charts, and we hope it will soon be made permanent and recognized as a second class Observatory. Our best thanks are due to Dr. S. N. Sen, Meteorologist, Calcutta for his kind help and co-operation.

Foundation Day.—The Foundation Day Ceremony on the 6th of February last was a very successful function. The presence of both Mr. and Mrs. Elmhirst was a source of inspiration to the workers. Eight years ago on the same day Mr. Elmhirst with a batch of six students from Santiniketan had come over to Surul and settled down in an inhospitable surrounding to give a start to this Institution against great difficulties. In spite of indifferent health he did not spare himself in any way, and living and toiling with his fellow-workers built up the foundation of the institution. Although he left for Europe after some time, both he and Mrs. Elmhirst continued to take an active interest in the welfare of the institution. All the workers and friends of the institution therefore felt very happy to see them in Sriniketan this year.

An Exhibition illustrating the activities of the different sections of the institution was arranged at the same time, and was opened by Mrs. L. K. Elmhirst.

Co-operative Conference.—On the 10th and 11th of February, a Conference of the representatives of Co-operative Societies was held to

discuss the possibilities of introducing Rural Reconstruction Work in villages. The Conference was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, and was presided over by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst. The delegates number over 270, and took great interest in the proceedings of the Conference.

Ploughing Day.—The “Hala-Karshana Utsava” was held on the 12th of September near the Surul Danga Santhal villages. Sj. Ramananda Chattopadhyaya and Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya conducted the ceremony. All the inmates of Sriniketan and Santiniketan and most of the village people in the surrounding villages joined in the Utsav. About 100 pairs of bullocks with ploughs formed a beautiful procession which was a prominent feature of the festival. Prizes were distributed to the three best pairs to encourage the improvement of draught cattle in the villages. The Santhals and the Koras of our five labour colonies numbering over two hundred danced and arranged a picnic for themselves after the ceremony was over.

Visitors.—Among the many visitors to the Institution the following names arranged according to the date of their visit may be specially mentioned :

Officials : Mr. R. Kato, Japan; Rev. Kobayashi, Japan; Mr. S. N. Goode, Commissioner, Burdwan Division, Chinsurah; Mr. C. G. B. Stevens, District Magistrate and Collector, Birbhum; Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, Vice-President, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, Delhi; Lt.-Col. Chopra, School of Tropical Research, Calcutta; Mr. Vishnu T. Korke, Central Research Institute, Kasauli; Dr. N. Gangulee, Professor of Agriculture, Calcutta University; Mr. T. Viraraghavan, Cocanada; Florence Forrester, Washington D. C.; His Excellency Sir F. Stanley Jackson, Governor of Bengal, Lady Jackson and Party; Mr. S. K. Halder, I.C.S. and Mrs. Halder, Rampurhat; Mr. J. A. Hyde, Civil Surgeon, Birbhum, and Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., District Magistrate and Collector, Birbhum.

Non-officials : Mr. H. G. Timbres, Baltimore, U.S.A; Mr. Arthur E. Holt, Chicago, U.S.A.; Mr. John B. Holt, Chicago, U.S.A.; M. Azizul Haque, Krishnanagar; Mr. J. M. Robert, Mission Hospital, Madura; Mr. H. M. Smith, Mission Medical School, Vellore; Mr. Promodenath Roy; Dr. Birendranath Dey, Chief Engineer, Calcutta Corporation; Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, New York, U.S.A.; Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Bruce, Boston Mass, U.S.A.; Mr. J. S. Edstream and party, Vesteras,

Sweden; Mary H. Y. Remfry, Calcutta; Baba Mithuji, Bombay; Mr. David Howard, Moradabad, U.P.; Dorothy E. Johnston, London; Mr. N. Sankara Aiyar, Calcutta; Mr. N. Seshadinathan, M.B., Mylapore, Madras; Mr. Mehta Uddhodas, Retired Chief Judge, Bahmalpur State; Mr. Jamshed Cowasji Patel, Bombay; Mr. Kaiku Sorabji Buchia, Calcutta; Mr. H. Majumdar, Advocate, Sylhet; Martha L. Root (International Bahai Speaker), New York, U.S.A.; Mr. A. K. B. Bakhtiar, Karachi; Mr. J. C. Gadiwala, Calcutta; Mr. M. P. Mehta, Calcutta; Mr. Manek Jamshedji Deshai; J. R. Darumela, M.B.B.S., Calcutta; Mr. K. Kapadia, Calcutta; Mr. Rama Deva, Principal, Gurukul Kangri, Hardwar.

VILLAGE WELFARE DEPARTMENT.

Kalimohan Ghosh was in charge of this department up to November when he left for Europe to visit important centres of welfare work. He met other workers of this department almost once in every week and discussed the village problems with them. Reviewing the work of the year he writes: "We, who are in constant and close touch with all the workers, can without any reservation say that most of our workers in this department have sincerely striven to serve the people in the right spirit."

The ten villages in which intensive work has been started have been organized into two groups: 6 villages round Ballavpore under Hemanta Kumar Sarkar assisted by 3 part-time workers, and 4 villages under Usharanjan Dutta assisted by 3 other part-time workers.

Conferences.—At the time of the Sriniketan Anniversary two Conferences, one of the representative of Co-operative Credit Societies and the other of the Depressed Classes people, were held. These two conferences were presided over respectively by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst and Mr. C. G. B. Stevens, I. C. S., Collector of Birbhum. Two meetings with Purdah ladies and three mass meetings were also organized during the year.

Gardening.—Special attention was given this year for the development of vegetable gardening in the villages. Villagers were induced to plant fruit trees and grow vegetables in their homes. A common plot was kept apart for cotton growing near Santhal villages. The Santhals contributed their labour on co-operative basis, and the result achieved was satisfactory.

Brati-Balaka.—Last year the total number of Brati-Balaka troops in the surrounding villages was 10. Two new troops, one in a Santhal village near Ballavpore and another in Adityapore, were organized this year. The total number of Brati-Balakas in the 12 troops is 250. These twelve troops are divided into four main groups namely—(i) Bolepore, (ii) Laldaha, (iii) Ballavpore and (iv) Sriniketan.

Annual Rally: The Annual Rally was held along with the Anniversary on the 6th of February last, and was attended by 300 Brati-Balakas from Suri, Sultanpore, Labpore and also from all local troops. In the annual sports the “Brati-Balaka Pataka” (The Championship Flag) was won this year by the Bolpore Troop. A large number of spectators from all classes were present during the annual sports and took keen interest in the proceedings. The prizes were very kindly given away by Mrs. Elmhirst.

General Activities: An exhibition of Brati-Balaka Handi-work and collections was also arranged at the same time along with the departmental exhibition.

During the last anti-malarial season Brati-Balakas of the village troops helped their parents in kerosinizing tanks and dobas, distributing quinine and in some cases in clearing jungles. One night school in each of the four local centres is efficiently run by the respective leader in charge with the help of local troops. The students of these schools come from the so-called depressed classes.

Weaving training centres, one in Ballavpore and another in Laldaha, have been organized by the respective workers of the villages, where a number of Brati-Balakas are regularly receiving training.

The store which was organized on co-operative basis by the Bolpore Brati-Balakas is progressing steadily. A branch has been recently started in Laldaha, which is run and supervised by the local Brati-Balakas.

Special attention was given to the Physical Culture of the boys. Lathi and dagger play have been introduced along with drill, games and sports. The Brati-Balakas did useful work in sanitation and policing during Kankali and Mulluk Melas.

Excursions: Seven excursions were organized during the year under report. The boys were taken to distant villages and were given facilities to study the different problems of the villages, mix with the local boys, play with them and thus establish personal contact with one

another. During excursions the boys cooked their own food, washed their utensils, and kept detail accounts of expenditure. These excursions were very popular and were helpful for the development of a healthy spirit of comradeship amongst the village boys.

Night School.—The village boys of the Poor and depressed classes scarcely get any time to read in the village day schools, because most of them have to help their parents in their work. The primary aim of the night schools is to give opportunity to these boys to learn reading and writing to a certain extent. At present the number of these schools under our supervision is 9, and the total number of students in them is 198. One school had to be closed for want of funds.

Along with elementary reading, writing, and arithmetic, the boys are taught nature-study, weaving, gardening, games and sports. Most of these schools have their own plots of flower and vegetable gardens. Both the agricultural and the educational departments of Sriniketan co-operated with the teachers in this work.

Circulating Library.—The total number of books in our Circulating Library is at present 385 distributed under the following heads:—Poetry 47; Drama 43; History and Biography 39; Fiction 25; Science 31; Religion and Social 45; Children's literature 37; and Miscellaneous 66.

Besides the above, 52 volumes of books of different popular writers have been secured. 5 monthly magazines, dealing with health, social and economic problems are also kept in this section.

The total number of books issued during the year to individuals and to village societies was 709.

Training Camp.—As usual a training camp was arranged during the Puja holidays and was availed of by the apprentices of our Institution and some people from outside who were desirous of starting village welfare work in their villages. The subjects taught were: (i) Brati-Balaka Organisation, (ii) Village Sanitation and First Aid, (iii) Rural Reconstruction and Rural Education, (iv) Cottage Crafts and (v) Elementary Agriculture. The total number of workers trained so far is 140.

Mahila Samity.—Two Mahila Samities of Surul and Ballavpore villages are progressing satisfactorily under the able guidance of Mrs. Nanibala Roy, who visited both the centres regularly and gave instructions in Sewing, Cutting, Child Welfare and Maternity Work. The

number of members in the Surul Samity is 20 and in Ballavpore 23 as against 12 and 6 respectively of the last year. Attempts are now being made to organize a new Samity in Bandgora village.

Rural Survey.—After completing the Rural Survey of Raipore village which was published recently, Kalimohan Ghose undertook the survey work of Bandgora. A start was made, but unfortunately due to his departure for England, the work could not be completed. A Rural Survey of Bhubandanga, Benuri and Islampore has also been started.

Sriniketan Dispensary.—Jitendra Chandra Chakravarty, M.B., was in charge of the Dispensary and the Health Work in villages. The number of patients this year has much increased in comparison with that of the last year.

Patients from 150 villages came for medical relief and were satisfied with the care and help they received here. The Dispensary is becoming very popular and it is difficult with our resources to meet the requirements of most of the neighbouring villagers. At present we have no arrangement for in-door patients and therefore many medical, surgical and midwifery cases which require constant and careful attention, had to be refused.

We were fortunate to have Dr. H. G. Timbres, M.D., of the American Friends Society amongst us last year in November. He undertook a general survey from the medical point of view of the surrounding villages and submitted it to his society for consideration. Some portions of that report was published in the Visva-Bharati Quarterly last year.

The inadequate or rather want of any proper medical relief in our countryside so much moved Dr. Timbres, that he himself decided to undertake to build up a centre of Health Work at Cheap's Kuthi with arrangements for in-door and out-door patients. He is now travelling with our Founder-President to raise funds for the purpose.

Malaria this year took an epidemic form throughout the district. The prevalence of Malaria began from August last and it increased in October. In October, 1929, the total number of patients was 870, and Malaria Cases were 541; this year October, (1930) the total number of patients was about 1,500, of which about 1,000 were malaria cases.

In spite of Anti-Malarial measures, the suffering from Malaria cannot be properly solved if the economic condition of the people are not improved to a great extent.

Aruna & Amita Nursing work.—Mr. Sisir Kumar Basu of Sabour, Economic Botanist to the Government of Bihar and Orrisa, gave a donation of Rs. 10,000/- in 1927 to form an endowment in memory of his two daughters to be called after them the “Aruna and Amita Endowment.” The donor desired that the income out of this fund should be utilized for providing medical relief in the villages by free distribution of medicine and diet, and if possible, by free nursing of the sick, and also such relief as may be given at the homes of those sufferers whose sense of self-respect prevents them from attending Charitable Dispensaries and hospitals. During the year our worker attended 713 patients in their own homes in 25 different villages. Most of the Patients suffered from pneumonia, bronchitis, typhoid, gangrene, phthisis etc. Besides nursing he looked after the feeding of the patients. 74 demonstrations in nursing were also arranged in different villages.

Owing to serious illness of our worker, Abani Kinkar Mukherji, the nursing work suffered to a great extent during the months of October and November last.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION WORK AT BALLAVPORE.

The Ballavpore Co-operative Health and Rural Reconstruction Society was formed in July, 1925 and it was registered on the 10th of November of that year.

Last year we published a detailed report of the work of the Society from 1925 to 1929. Below is given a record of the work in 1930.

Public Health and Anti-Malarial Works. Over 500 feet of new roads were constructed, and 1,800 feet of old roads were repaired during the year ; 2,000 feet of roads were made *pucca* with Kankars. Nearly 7,000 feet of drains have been cleaned twice, and 800 feet of new drains have been opened. One big manure pit has been removed from the side of the road to a distant place. Up till now nearly 3,000 feet of roads have been constructed and 7,600 feet of drains opened. Every year the roads are repaired and the drains are cleaned.

One big *doba* was partly filled up ; one little tank and one big *doba* were cleaned ; about half a *bigha* of jungles by the side of 5 big *dobas* were cleared.

Throughout the malaria season *i.e.* from July to November all the

dobas numbering about 40 were kerosinized once a week. The amount of Quinine distributed was 5,381 grs.

Up till now 12 *bighas* of jungles have been cleared and 48 *dobas* have been filled up.

Malaria. Malaria broke out in this and the neighbouring villages in an epidemic form. The total population of the village was 99 of whom 2 members were absent from the village throughout the whole malaria season. Of the remaining 97, 67 persons suffered from Malaria this year, giving a Malaria percentage of over 69 per cent.

Maternity Work. Four *dhais* of the village (who were trained up in maternity work by the doctor at Sriniketan in 1927) are successfully attending calls from 8 villages within 5 miles.

Primary Schools. A night school was started in 1926 with 10 students. This year the number of students was 18 against 12 in 1929.

Morning School. The morning school was started in 1929 with 17 students. This year the number rose to 43, of whom 11 were girls, 28 boys, and 4 adults. The students come from four other neighbouring villages, *viz.*, Dangapara, Sadipur, Khejurdanga and Santalpara, and belong to Brahmin, Sadgop, Weaver, Saha, Muchi, Dom, Kora, and Santal families. All the students, irrespective of caste, sit and read together.

The object of this little school is to train up the boys in a way that, when grown up, they can live well, earn well, and can improve the village life to make it as it was in olden times, the centre of life of the country at large.

The method of teaching in this school is a little different from other schools. We never try to whip out the intelligence of the little boys nor do we set for them a heavy burden of task to be done in their holidays. Besides reading and writing, the students are taught to sing. They have learnt some of the songs of Rabindranath.

Almost every month, the teacher and the boys sing simple songs in tune with *khol*, *karatal*, *kanshi* and *bell*, all moving in a circle round the *Nim* tree in the *Asram*.

The boys have a vegetable garden. This year they have made another garden of plantain. The products of the garden are distributed among them.

On two evenings the night school boys had their garden festival. They plucked vegetables from their garden, prepared their food in the *Asram* and dined together.

Adult Education. 16 meetings of the reconstruction society were held this year. A good portion of the Ramayana was read out to the members.

Evening and mid-day talks were given on the following subjects : Ancient and present economic condition of the district ; Educational problems of the country ; The cattle and the milk problem of villages ; Medical properties of herbs and plants ; Utility of having a holiday in every week and how it should be spent ; Value of music and festivals in a village community ; Duties of the people of Ballavpore and how they can co-operate with and serve other villages ; Cottage Industry in its economic aspect ; Readings from selected books of standard authors.

Hari Sava. A *Hari Sava* was started at the end of June. It was settled that after one hour of the setting of the sun, the bell would be rung in the house of the society, when every member would come and join the Sava. At first Ramayana, Mahabharata, Gita or some other such sacred book would be read and explained, and afterwards Sankirtan be held.

Ever since that date the work of the Sava is going on regularly. All the people, irrespective of caste and creed, sit together and join in the *kirtans* in the spacious verandah of the Samiti's house." Weather permitting, the party goes round the village streets touching the quarters of the people.

This *Hari Sava* has created a new life in the village producing other festivals in its turn.

Janmastami. The *Janmastami* or the festival of the birthday of Srikrishna was observed by the Samiti. The house of the Samiti and its precincts were decorated with leaves, flowers and *alpanas*. Every member cleaned his own house and the street nearby, and made decorations with *alpanas*.

The people of Sriniketan, Santiniketan, Dangapara, Khejurdanga and Santalpara, the teachers and students of the night schools under Sriniketan, the Brati-Balakas of Bolpur, Santalpara and the Siksha-Satra with their troops were invited to attend the festival.

The Ballavpore men held Nagar Sankirtan round the village before sunrise. The guests assembled by 8 o'clock in the morning, and a meeting was held presided over by Kali Mohan Ghosh, who briefly narrated the life and works of the Lord Krishna. The lecture was highly apprecia-

ted by the people. After the lecture he read and explained 5 verses of the Gita in simple Bengali.

Afterwards there was a 'Takli' competition of yarn spinning in which 30 Brati-Balakas representing the Bolpur, Surul, Santalpara, Siksha-Satra and Ballavpore troops took part.

This was followed by a display of Lathi and Dagger play. The Brati-Balakas of Bolpur, Siksha-Satra and Ballavpore played very well, and attracted much notice.

Next there was a grand *kirtan* with *khol* and *kartals*. All the village people, the students and the teachers sang together, and the party came half round the village. Light refreshments were served after the *kirtan* was over.

In the evening there was again *nagar sankirtan* round the village ; then the *puja* was held in proper form. The priest, the Assistant Secretary of the Society, narrated the life history of Sri Krishna, and explained two important verses of the Gita. This was recited by all present, Brahmin, Sadgop, Weaver, Potter, Hari, Muchi, Dom joining in the chorus with the priest. After this the *prasad* was distributed amongst all, and was sent to all the members who were absent.

Nandotsava. Next day there was the *Nandotsava* i.e., the Utsava that Nanda held after the birth of Sri Krishna.

All the people, young and old, joined together and held *kirtan* in the house of the Samiti. It had been settled the previous night that the *kirtan* party would go into the house of all the people irrespective of caste. The idea came from the people themselves without any outside prompting. The party first entered into the house of a Brahmin; the owner of the house offered a coin. In this way the party moved on from house to house. Then it entered the house of a Muchi, and tears came to the eyes of the inmates. Everyone was moved and the *kirtan* became sweeter. In this way the party visited the house of every Muchi, every Dom and every Hari.

In the evening there was a '*narikel karakari*' in which people from four villages took part. After the function was over, there was a meeting of all the people in which the object and methods of work of the Samiti was explained; and they were asked to do the same in their own villages. This was followed by a *kirtan* in which even the Santals joined. After the *kirtan*, all people recited in a chorus two verses of the Gita.

Radhastami. On the *Radhastami* day, there was another festival. People of three other villages were invited. This day it was *Hari-Basar*. Throughout the whole day and night, the *kirtan* and the *puja* went on.

The women suggested that next day there should be a Mahotsav and they took the initiative. They collected rice, dal, and vegetables, and started cooking from early morning. All the village people including those that were invited from outside joined in the feast.

In the evening there was '*narikel kara-kari*' which was won by Santals of Ballavpore.

The month of Kartik is regarded as holy. In this month every evening the people gathered in the Sevasram. Five slokas of the Gita were read and explained every day, and then there were verses recited in a chorus by all assembled. Afterwards a portion of the Ramayana was read and explained, followed by *kirtan*.

One member performed *hom* and *Satyanarayana puja* continually for three days. Every day after the *hom* and the *puja* were finished, portions of the Gita and the Ramayana were read and explained and then *kirtan* was held.

Brati-Balaka. The students of the two schools formed the Brati-Balaka troop last year. This year another troop has been formed at Santalpara. The girls of Ballavpore, Santalpara and Dangapara are also combining to form a troop of Brati-Balaka.

That there is a necessity and possibility of introducing the industry into the neighbouring villages, we have explained in our last year's report. We also gave an idea therein of the requirements of the section for the purpose.

Khadi Work. The Ballavpore people are extremely poor. They are almost entirely dependent on agriculture, and more than 95% of the fields yield only one crop, paddy. Most of the irrigation tanks are silted and monsoon rainfall is extremely uncertain in its character. The people are under a heavy burden of debt, so that famine conditions are practically chronic. They have, however, a good deal of leisure at their disposal; practically more than half the year they sit idle without any occupation. Charka which requires but little capital can therefore give them some relief, however small it may be.

In our survey of 1926, it was seen that the villagers require more than Rs. 800 every year for clothing. A good portion of this amount may be saved by the substitution of home-spun clothes.

We are trying to make the village self-supporting in clothes in the near future. 4 village boys have learned to weave,—and we also have an expert in Khadi-work. Work was begun from the middle of September. The villagers took it up in earnest, but progress was hampered by the outburst of malaria. With the exception of 5 or 6 boys who had received some training before, all the workers were novices. At first the work was concentrated at Ballavpore, but as usual it gradually spread to other villages. The record of 3 months work (September to November, 1930) is given below:—

	Ballavpore.	Dangapara.	Ken-danga.	Santal para.	Total.
No. of people trained.	27	12	2	7	48
No. of Charkas working.	13	5	1	0	18
Yarn spun.	3 Srs. 1 Ch.	2 Srs. 11 Ch.	12 Ch.	0	6 Srs. 8 Ch.
Khadi woven.	14	0	0	0	14 yds.

A donation of Rs. 100 was received from Sj. Prabhat Mohan Bando-padhyaya, an old pupil of Sj. Nandalal Bose, and a small donation from the President's Fund.

Mahila Samiti (Women's Association). Members of the association have learnt tailoring and needle work. They are making their household articles themselves.

The visit of Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., the District Magistrate and Collector of Birbhum, on the 4th of November gave a great impetus to the work of the Samiti. Mr. Dutt gave a donation of Rs. 40 and several books to the association which has been affiliated with the Sarojnalini Narimangal Samiti.

Irrigation & fishery. All the four tanks were filled with rain water, which was used for irrigation in October. Fish spawn to the value of Rs. 40, Rs. 15, and Rs. 15 were put in the tanks in 1928, 1929 and 1930 respectively.

Co-operation with Neighbouring Villages. We reported last year that three villages had combined together in the matter of Co-operative

Bank, Brati-Balaka activities and schools. In 1930, the people of Ballavpore, Dangapara, Sadipur, Khejurdanga and Santalpara performed the Janmastami festival with their united efforts. They were 2 joint meetings of Ballavpore, Dangapara, Khejurdanga and Santalpara to draw up a plan of combined welfare work; 3 meetings of Dangapara and Ballavpore to discuss plans for the development of the work of Dangapara Society; joint meetings of Khejurdanga and Ballavpore to consider ways and means for the education of boys and girls; and a joint meeting at Santalpara with the headmen of Dangapara, Ballavpore and Santalpara. In 1930, Dangapara, Khejurdanga and Santalpara co-operated with Ballavpore in making and repairing roads, in opening and cleaning drains and in clearing jungles.

Extension Centre. S. J. Fanibhusan Ghosh, one of the teachers of the weaving school, is a resident of the village Bogdoura, 8 miles away from Ballavpore. He lived in the Sevasram for nearly 3 years and learnt rural reconstruction work in all its aspects. In May, 1930 he went back to his village to start welfare work.

He is earning his livelihood by working a loom. He takes yarn from the Sevasram, weaves clothes which are sold from the Sevasram and the sale proceeds are given to him without charging any commission. He has introduced 2 Charkas and 5 Taklis and is teaching one student to weave. He is also forming a local Brati-Balaka Troop. Fanibhusan is keeping himself in intimate touch with Ballavpore, and Bogdoura may be called the first Extension Centre of the Ballavpore Rabindra Sevasram.

The Ploughing Day. 5 cultivators of Ballavpore and Khejurdanga, and more than 60 pairs of bullocks from the Ballavpore centre participated in the "Hala-Karshan Utsav" (the Ploughing Day Ceremony) at Sriniketan. All the prizes were won from the Ballavpore centre; Khejurdanga winning the first prize and Ballavpore the other two prizes.

Other activities. In 1929, an arbitration Panchait was formed and 5 litigation cases were settled. In 1930, 4 cases came up before the committee and were all settled.

It has been arranged that whenever there is any emergency a bell will be rung in the Sevasram, when all the villagers should gather together for concerted action. In 1930 the alarm bell was rung 4 times, and the system proved to be highly beneficial to the people.

Co-operative Credit Society. The working capital of the co-operative credit society which was registered on the 10th January, 1928, was Rs. 1,964-4-6 on 6-11-1928, Rs. 5,617-5-4½ on 31-12-1929, and Rs. 5,955-12-4½ on 30-11-1930.

Gardening. One member is drawing a decent income from banans cultivation. Banana, Brinjals, Tomato and Chillies are being grown in 7 new plots in 7 families.

Visitors. Their Excellencies Sir and Lady Stanley Jackson visited the Sevasram on the 10th February, 1930. An exhibition of the products of the Mahila Samiti, of the weaving and spinning sections, and of the collections of the Brati-Balakas was arranged for the occasion, and the Brati-Balaka troop gave an impressive demonstration of fire-drill.

We give below a few extracts from the Visitor's Book. Mr. L. K. Elmhirst wrote on the 8th February, 1930:—"Dorothy, Michael and I visited the village and were delighted to find so many signs of happiness, health and self-help apparent. Compared with the darkness and poverty that I remember eight years ago when I was first entertained by the headman, it is not difficult to see that a real new birth has taken place, that new light has come in, and behind the very significant movement in roads, in health, in surroundings and in general well-being, somehow a new force is apparent which seems to inspire the hearts and minds of villagers of all classes. The new force once released cannot be held in and during the next few years I hope to hear of it spreading through the whole neighbourhood. The spirit of the workers and their scientific attack upon rural conditions, these are the weapons which the whole rural world is waiting for. Only in this way can we approach a balance between the life of town and village."

Mrs. L. K. Elmhirst wrote on the same day:—"This has been a joyous visit. Everyone has been most wonderfully kind and hospitable and we take away with us a happy memory of all the good work that is being done and of the warm generous spirit that is apparent in everyone."

H. E. Sir Stanley Jackson wrote:—

"I was much impressed with what I saw during my visit to Ballavpore. There appears to be a good system of organization and the spirit of Co-operation is in evidence. I was particularly pleased with the Boys Scouts—who seemed keen and enthusiastic and I appreciate the value of

the lesson to be learnt from the movement. I wish the co-operative Societies success."

Mr. Guru Saday Dutt, who visited the Sevasram on the 4th November, made the following remarks:—

"It was a very great pleasure to me to see the excellent rural reconstruction work which is being shown in this village and the wonderful transformation which has taken place in the mentality of the people."

Bandgora. Sj. Usharanjan Dutta was in charge.

The total population of the village is 181 in 43 families (males 49, females 65, boys 40, girls 27) out of which only 31 are literate.

The Samiti was organized in 1926 ; 14 meetings were held in 1930 to discuss various problems of the village.

General Activities. A night school was established last year, but had to be discontinued for want of funds. Evening talks for adults on different subjects were regularly given for three evenings every week, and 5 lantern lectures were organized on Health and Sanitation; Ramayana and other sacred books were also read occasionally. A purdah meeting was arranged to explain the usefulness of a 'Mahila Samiti.'

Health and Sanitation. A Homeopathic Dispensary was established and was conducted efficiently by the worker Usharanjan Dutta. There were 50 patients in the dispensary during the year under report. The Malaria percentage was higher than the last year, but in comparison with surrounding villages, Bandgora suffered less. The total number of malarial patients in the Samiti area was only 25.

Agriculture. There was more extensive cultivation of sugarcane, potato and onion; cotton also was grown in a small plot. Vegetable gardening was taken up by 5 families, and different kinds of fruit trees worth about Rs. 25 were purchased by the villagers.

Industry. 6 members of the village were spinning Charka this year. The preparation of 'Sathi' had been introduced in the village. The villagers were interested in this and they have decided to grow 'Sathi' plant in the uncultivated land next year.

Miscellaneous. One litigation case was settled by arbitration.

The main festival of the village is Kali Puja. All the villagers without any distinction of caste and creed joined this festival in 1930.

Accounts. The Samiti's account was audited by the Auditor of the Co-operative Department. He was thoroughly satisfied with the accounts, an abstract of which is given below:—

[illegible]

The members worked energetically for improving sanitary condition of the village. There were other activities also which were supervised by the Santiniketan students.

The average attendance in the Girls' Night School was 14, and in the Boys' Night School 25. Sick nursing was given to about 45 patients. Charka and Takli were introduced in many families.

The funds were chiefly raised by the Santiniketan students themselves and through occasional contributions of sympathetic visitors, and the work was supervised by the students in their spare time.

Bahadurpur. Sj. Saktipada Sarkar was in charge.

The Samiti is old and very active. The total population is 283 in 72 families, of whom 184 in 45 families are members. There were 12 meetings of the Samiti during the year under report.

At the beginning of this year the villagers concentrated on repairing roads, opening drains, clearing jungles etc. so that in rainy season they

might be able to devote their whole energy to anti-malarial work. It was a very bad year as regards malaria. In spite of all possible precautions that had been taken against malaria, the villagers did not escape from it; 45 persons among members and 70 persons among non-members suffered this year.

Mr. L. K. Elmhirst visited the village in February, and was very pleased to find the improved condition of the village. The District Board granted Rs. 100/- for anti-malarial work in 1930.

Benuri. Sj. Saktipada Sarkar was in charge.

The total population of the village is 165 in 72 families of whom 79 in 28 families are members of the Samiti. 12 meetings of the society were held during the year. In spite of vigorous anti-malarial measures, 21 persons among members and 42 persons among non-members suffered from malaria.

Special attention was given this year to vegetable gardening, which has been taken up by 15 different families who were supplied with 100 Banana, 250 Papaya and 10 Lemon plants free of charge from Sriniketan Farm. These 15 families prepared their own plots, and do not any longer feel it beneath their dignity to work in the garden with their own hands. Other villagers became gradually interested and have prepared their plots for the next year crop.

Mr. L. K. Elmhirst visited the place in February and expressed his satisfaction with the work done by the Samiti.

Islampur. Sj. Adhir Kumar Majumdar was in charge.

The total population is 176 in 42 families. A Health Society was organized in May, 1930 and the total number of members of the Samiti at the end of the year was 159 from 33 families. 9 meetings of the Samiti were held during the year.

134 society members were treated with quinine regularly while 25 members refused to take quinine. During malaria season 35 members (26%) among quinine-takers and 11 members (44%) among non-takers suffered from malaria.

The Birbhum District Board granted Rs. 70/- to this Samiti for anti-malarial work. Along with the Health Society the villagers also organized one Co-operative Credit and one Co-operative Irrigation Society in this village.

Santal Village. Sj. Baidyanath Ghose was in charge.

The total population is 172 in 37 families. All the members are Santal. The members of the Samiti thoroughly repaired the main road of the village and also opened all the drains of the village during rainy season. 7 *Dobas* had been regularly kerosinized. The members took quinine regularly during the malaria season. But owing to the virulent out-break of malaria throughout the whole district, the malarial percentage rose very high.

Plantain and Banana plants were introduced in the Santal houses. A common plot was also selected for cotton and most of the Santal villagers tried their utmost to make it a successful one.

A credit society which had been organized in 1929 with 24 Santal members worked satisfactorily. The members of the society met 11 times during the year to discuss about the society's business. The members saved Rs. 20/7/6 in their Home Saving Boxes which were distributed by the society.

A primary school was also run by the worker in this village. The total number of students in this school was 22. Besides reading and writing, the boys were also taught weaving, nature study, observation, and gardening. A Brati-Balaka troop was organized with Santal boys.

Tape, Durry and Carpet making were introduced in 10 families. The standard of production was high, and some of the families are making a decent income out of it. 7 Charkas were also distributed among them for spinning.

Mr. G. S. Dutt, I. C. S., Collector of Birbhum, who visited the Santal School, was much pleased with its work, and gave a donation of Rs. 10/-.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION.

Santosh Bihari Bose was in charge of the Agricultural Department throughout the year. He also helped as a teacher of Botany in the Santiniketan College.

Farm.

Paddy.—In the Paddy Section green-manuring with *Dhanchia* at the rate of 3 seers per bigha was continued as in previous years, but was supplemented with AmmoPhos at the rate of 2½ seers per bigha, applied at the time of puddling. This had a beneficial effect on the yield of grain and straw. Instead of nine stalks to a branch normally, it tillered

fifteen stalks to a single branch on an average. There were 153 fully developed grains to a ear on an average in the place of 121 normally.

Sugarcane.—In the Sugarcane section, the CO (213) gave promising results. On an actual area of $\frac{1}{2}$ bigha harvested, an outturn of 23 maunds of fine 'Gur' was obtained and a sum of Rs. 203-9-9 was actually received by selling it. A mixture of Castor cake 3 mds. and Amphos $7\frac{1}{2}$ seers was used as manure. A noticeable feature was the complete absence of any mosaic disease; the number of arrowing of flowerheads was also extremely small.

Potato.—In the Potato section, the same manure was used as in the case of Sugarcane with similar results, so far as the yield and the prevention of Fungus diseases are concerned.

Potato Storing.—In the Potato storing section a further decrease in the total loss of weight as well as loss from damages caused by fungi and insects, and the maintenance of the colour of the skin of the tubers had been noticed. It is also gratifying to note that under the direction of the Director of Agriculture and the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Burdwan Division, our Potato seeds had been widely consumed specially for early sowing throughout the province of Bengal as well as in other provinces like Bihar and Orissa, and the United Provinces.

Agricultural Education.—Systematic classes were held both in the laboratory and in the field. The total number of students was 10, of whom 2 had read up to the B.A., 1 up to the I.Sc., and 6 up to the Matriculation Standard, and 1 was a stipend-holder from Hyderabad.

Queries from different parts of the country were attended to, and a scheme of agricultural training for college students was drawn up for the Hindu Academy, Daulatpore.

Farm Extension.—The soil of most of the plots of the newly acquired area is sandy in nature, and is deficient in organic as well as in colloid matters. About 200 acres are being laid out for the present for crops, and a few apprentices are being trained in Tractor ploughing in this area.

Cowpea was sown in all the plots, about half of which were also green-manured with Dhanchia. Heavy showers of rain in July and August hampered the growth of the crop, and practically the whole of it was destroyed by fungus disease. But whatever remained gave very fine quality of seeds, which have been kept for next year's sowing.

In certain villages early paddy seeds and plantain suckers were supplied to almost every householder, while Leghorn and Chittagong eggs and cocks were also given to them for grading purposes.

The Bengal Sericulture Department planted 500 Mulberry cuttings on an area of about 3 bighas of land.

Dairy.—In the year under review practically the whole of the old stock of cows purchased from the Calcutta market was disposed off. Only four cross-bred heifers were retained. The average yield of milk was about 3 maunds per month, *i.e.*, four seers per day, for an average period of nearly five months, that is, a total output of about 15 maunds. There was no provision for green feeds except in September, when a mixture of green Juar and Cowpea was fed in addition to usual concentrates. The total yield of the green weight of the fodder (Juar and Cowpea) was 103 maunds on an area of about half an acre of land.

Poultry.—In this section two separate new Breeding Pens, one for Chittagongs and one for White Leghorns, have been started. Arrangements have also been made for trap-nesting these birds. Chittagongs have hitherto been considered for weight, meat and hardiness, but attempts are now being made to increase the egg-laying capacity. A system of grading of birds have been introduced in two Santal villages. In one village 'Deshi' cocks have been replaced entirely by Chittagongs, and in the other by Leghorns. About 300 White Leghorn eggs and 30 Chittagong eggs for setting purpose were supplied to about forty-two families in 3 other Santal villages.

Attempt is being made to grow different kinds of feeds in the Farm, and villagers are being encouraged to do so on their own plots. The main idea is to encourage mass production of eggs on a commercial scale, while our Breeding Pens will produce birds that will keep up the strain.

A large number of Chittagong and White Leghorn pullets and laying hens were sold this year in different parts of India, and a number of orders could not be complied with for shortage of stock.

EDUCATION SECTION.

The number of students and apprentices who have been receiving instruction during the year in the various departments of the institution is shown below :—Agriculture (9), Poultry (5), Lacquer Work (2), Tan-

nery (1), Village Welfare (1), Carpentry (1), Weaving (18), Girls' School (42), Siksha-Satra (32).

The Girls' School is non-residential and in the Weaving section and the Siksha-Satra there were 8 and 12 day-students respectively. The Hyderabad State has sent a scholar for training in village work.

Besides practical work, the advanced students are required to attend two periods of class work daily distributed among the following subjects: agriculture, hygiene, rural economics, Brati-Balaka movement, social and educational psychology. They have a free access to a fairly well-equipped library.

The students have formed a Chhatra-Sangha (Students' Union) which has added a great deal to the social life of the institution. Social gatherings are held every fortnight. The students assist in the sanitation and anti-malaria work of the institution. For their less advanced fellow-students, they hold regular evening classes, in which a few of the members of the staff join as visiting teachers. A Students' Fund for helping the needy has been started through their own initiative. The sports record is encouraging, the Volley Ball team defeated Serampore, Y.M.C.A., etc., and remains unbeaten hitherto.

Siksha-Satra.—There were 32 Pupils of whom 12 were day-students. Coming from very poor homes and an environment where life is at its lowest ebb, neglected, repressed, misguided, on the one hand, diseased, ill-nourished and with poor vitality on the other, their mind as well as their body have been demanding our constant attention. What we have been able to offer towards their physical nourishment, though perhaps much better than what they get at home, is far from adequate. It has been our effort to make their minds alert to the environment and rouse in them initiative and sustained efforts for useful activities.

As most of the boys are below the average "mental age," emphasis is being laid on manual work. Also it is our aim to find out how far the boys can contribute towards the cost of their education and maintenance. The boys spend the whole morning in manual work. Fourteen of them are in the Weaving section working on saris, towels, carpets and tapes. Three of the boys are apprentices in Carpentry, while four of them are in the Santiniketan Press. One is making good progress in tailoring, and two of them can manage our "Tractor."

The manual training is supplemented with general education in the afternoon and evening. Project method is largely used thereto. The

sports record of the boys, in the last annual rally, has been promising. The boys are also helping in the sanitation of the institution.

The group consciousness is gradually emerging and we have been able to transfer a certain portion of the responsibility to the boys themselves. We are trying to keep in touch with the attainments and aspirations of the guardians in order to steer clear of the difficulties, through which the institution, in the past, has had to pass. We hope to give back to the rural communities boys healthier and more serviceable than we received from them. It is, however, too early yet to say anything regarding the results of our endeavours.

Girls' School.—The school provides free education to 42 girls from the neighbouring villages. Schooling is given up to the Upper Primary Standard, but special stress is laid on practical training in sewing, embroidery, other forms of needle work, weaving and gardening. Four girls completed the training in Weaving, and one of them obtained a scholarship in the Lower Primary examination of the district.

All the girls are day scholars, their age varying from six to twelve. Unlike most of the rural boys they are very keen on their school and most regular in attendance. They are encouraged to be free and easy, to play various games, and lead a cheerful life in school.

WEAVING SECTION.

Manindra Chandra Sen Gupta was in charge throughout the year. The work of this department has been steadily progressing.

Charka and Takli.—We have not been behind hand in taking advantage of the enthusiasm of the local people who were eager to learn spinning and weaving. In fact, at present spinning by 'Takli' and 'Charka' has so much captured the imagination of the people of the neighbouring town and the surrounding villages, and yarn is produced in such great quantity that it is difficult to cope with production. During the last few months about 150 lbs. of hand-spun yarn was received from the locality and over 40 lbs. from Burdwan and Calcutta for being woven into 'Saris' and 'Dhotis.' No charge was made for this work.

Carpets and Durries.—Attention was also paid to the production of better qualities of articles with fine cotton and silk yarn and Carpets and Durries of original designs supplied by the artists of the Kala-Bhavana.

Training Classes.—Regular classes were held for the instruction of boys and village apprentices. The number of students in this department during the last 12 months is shown below :—

Students from Birbhum District 23; from other districts 8; Ushagram Mission, Asansol 1; Pakur Mission 6 (including 5 girls); Azimganj Co-operative Bank 1; Santiniketan Kalabhavana 6 (including 2 girls); and Sriniketan Siksha-satra 10.

Old Students.—It is gratifying to note that some of the students trained by us have obtained appointment in different Institutions in various districts of Bengal. Two of our old boys are now engaged as demonstrators in the "Swadeshi Bastra Pratisthan" in Calcutta, and one is working as the weaving teacher in the "Maha-Nirvana Matha" at Nalhati. The American Mission at Ushagram, Asansol, has engaged one of our workers. The girls from Pakur Mission after finishing their short course here are now working in the Santal Pargannas. Another girl has been engaged by Saroj Nalini Women's Association.

Extension Work.—Weaving centres started by us in different villages were regularly inspected. Five women in Santalgram and six in Surul have been producing beautiful carpets and 'saris' in their home. Yarn was also supplied to seven village weavers who worked under our direction and produced articles according to our designs. Fifteen *Charkas* were distributed in five villages on condition that the yarn produced would be sold to our department.

TANNERY.

Sachimohan Bhowmic was in charge of this section. The experiments that were started last year for the manufacture of leather articles such as handbags, sandals, portfolios, cushions with embroidery work etc. proved very successful, and found a ready market. It is encouraging to find how women from even Brahmin families in villages are now eagerly learning and actually doing leather embroidery work according to designs supplied by us, and are earning from 10 to 12 rupees per month. We have at present 11 such village workers connected with us. Three students, one from Ballavpore and the remaining two from Santiniketan and Bogra, are learning the methods of tanning raw hides.

Village tanning centres were regularly supervised, and every possible help was given to local muchis who after finishing their training here desired to start small tanneries in their own villages. Enquiries

were also received from outside regarding a suitable scheme for starting small tanneries.

CRAFTS DEPARTMENT.

P. Hariharan, who was in charge, left for Japan last March and Miss Indusudha Ghose, a girl student of Santiniketan Kalabhavana, was appointed in his place. Sachimohan Bhowmic of the Tannery Section looked after the business side and the general management of this section. Tile making and Pottery which were started last year had to be closed temporarily for want of funds.

Lacquer Work.—The work of this department suffered to a great extent due to the frequent absence of the workers on account of illness. One of them unfortunately has not yet been able to join.

Attention was given to the training of young students and the progress made was satisfactory. Most of the articles produced were of high order and found a ready market in Calcutta.

Book-Binding.—The Demand for artistic Book-binding is very limited, and in order to keep the whole-time worker of this section fully engaged we have been undertaking job work from private people. The total number of students in this section was 10, among whom 8 were boys from the Siksha-Satra.

Tailoring & Embroidery Work.—About 50 girls from the neighbouring villages who attend the Girls' School at Sriniketan are given regular instruction in cutting, sewing and embroidery. About a dozen women of the three Mahila Samitis at Ballavpore, Surul and Goalpara respectively, are also making good progress in embroidery work on silk and leather articles. The village Samitis are visited regularly and the members are helped with new designs and suggestions. The marketing of finished articles is undertaken by the institution.

WORKSHOP.

The present workshop which occupies the entire Northern and Eastern portion of the Hall of Industry has been fitted up with necessary equipments for undertaking job works, and also for imparting elementary training to boys who come for the purpose. At present there are 5 apprentices in this department.

The following courses of training are proposed to be introduced for the students of this department from the next session.

(a) *Practical Classes*.—Carpentry, Smithy, Lathe Work, Polishing, Grinding, Fitting, Mechanical Drawing, and Surveying. Opportunities will be given to students to attend Power House, and to learn driving the Tractor, and Oil Engines.

(b) *Theoretical Classes*.—Elementary Mechanics, Elementary Physics, Library Work and Night Schools for village apprentices.

Machine Shop.—In the Machine Shop proper, the following machines have been fitted up with proper line shaft and counter shafts and all of them are now in working order:—

1 Metal Lathe; 1 Wood Lathe; 1 Drill; 1 Polishing Machine; 1 Grinding Machine; and 1 large Hack-saw Machine.

Power House.—At present we have two Oil Engines, one 8 H. P. and the other 17 H. P. The smaller one is now used daily to supply light while the installation of the bigger one has recently been completed. The two Dynamos that we possess are very old, and give trouble almost every day. In fact the smaller Dynamo (3.5 K. W.) needs thorough repair and rewinding.

Carpentry Shop.—T. Kono is looking after this department and is taking regular classes for Siksha-Satra and other boys.

Considering the financial difficulties, the department has on the whole made good progress. The workshop is now being run by Subodh Chandra Sarkar, who is an experienced foreman, with the help of a smith and a few apprentices that we have been able to secure from the neighbouring villages. The need of a good lathe mistry is keenly felt; one was practically appointed at the beginning of the year, but had to be retrenched for want of funds.

PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya was in charge as Secretary, Publishing Department, throughout the year.

New Publications.—Two new books, *Vanusingher Patrabali* (a collection of letters written by the Poet), and *Gitamalika Part II* (a collection of songs with music), and a large number of reprints were issued during the year. Another book published on behalf of the Kalabhavana (School of Art), *Sahaj Path* Parts I and II, written by the Poet as an introductory primer in Bengali for children and illustrated by Nandalal Bose, has attracted considerable public notice. A notable feature of the year under review was the publication of a series of Text Books written by the Poet himself:—*Pathaprachaya* Parts II, III and IV, *Ingraji Sahaj Siksha* Parts I and II, and *Ingraji Srutisiksha*; 3 of these have been approved as Text Books by the Education Department of Bengal.

Sales.—The sale of publications has shown steady progress, the gross sale in 1929-30 amounting to Rs. 32,402-7-3 against Rs. 29,108-10-6 in 1928-29, and Rs. 27,906-10-6 in 1927-28. The direct sales from the Book-shop increased considerably and thereby a large amount of additional profit was earned. After deducting all working expenses, interest on the loan from the Kalabhavana Fund (Rs. 1,720/-), temporary loan to Kalabhavana (Rs. 248-10-10) and Royalty paid to the General Fund and others (Rs. 7,666-6-0), the net cash profit carried over to the Balance Sheet was Rs. 8,567-13-11 against Rs. 4,345-12-11 in 1928-29, and Rs. 1,826-15-4 in 1927-28. The net value of the stock has increased by Rs. 1,774-0-2 (or the retail value by Rs. 7,096-0-8).

Santiniketan Press.—The financial position of the Press remains practically unchanged. After deducting Rs. 360/- paid as interest to the Indian Studies Fund (on account of a capital loan of Rs. 6,000/-) and Rs. 525/- spent in non-recurring charges, there was a working loss of Rs. 194-8-0. This loss was mainly due to the irregular supply of electric current which interfered considerably with proper working of the press machine. It may be noted in this connexion that an oil-engine has been purchased for the Press which will not be dependent in future on any outside agency for the supply of power.

*VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

Owing to financial stringency no provision had been made for the Visva-Bharati Quarterly in the Revised Budget Estimates adopted in

March, 1930, and no arrangements were therefore made for its publication after the completion of Volume 7 with the issue of January, 1930. It was, however, decided at a meeting of the Samsad (Governing Body) in September that the Visva-Bharati Quarterly should not cease publication, and should continue to be supplied free of charge to all members of the Visva-Bharati. The Karma-Samiti decided that future issues of the journal would be published in parts, four to the year reckoned from October to September in conformity with the financial year of the Visva-Bharati, and Parts I and II of Volume 8 were published in December. A definite policy of publishing systematically research studies of the Vidya-bhavana (Research Institute) has been adopted, and 4 memoirs have already been published in the Quarterly. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis has been working as the Editor from Volume 7 (1929-30).

APPENDIX A.

List of Donations received during 1929-30.

B. Earmarked Fund.

B/1. Santiniketan Trust Fund.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Tagore Estate	4,609	15	0
<i>B/2/22. Sriniketan Fund.</i>			
Mr. L. K. Elmhirst	41,323	13	3
National Council of Education	1,000	0	0
National Fund	325	0	0
Government of Bengal	3,000	0	0
	45,648	13	3

B/12/25. Zoroastrian Fund.

Through Mr. D. J. Irani	4,200	0	0
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B/13/30. Cheap's Kuthi Fund.

Mr. L. K. Elmhirst	5,000	0	0
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C/3/28. Friends Service Council Fund.

Society of Friends	2,132	7	10
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C/4/28. President's Fund.

Mr. H. E. Wheeler	50	0	0
Mr. C. H. Juner	10	0	0
Mr. E. C. Benthall	50	0	0
Collection through Founder-President	90	0	0
Manager, Bank of India Ltd., Amritasar	11	8	0
Mr. S. W. Goode	20	0	0
Collection through Mr. S. C. Kar	3	0	0
H. H. The Rajah of Dhenkanal, Orissa	1,000	0	0
Mr. Amarendranath Mitter	10	0	0
Mr. A. P. Sen	500	0	0
Capt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Ahmed Syed Khan	250	0	0
Dr. Bhagirath Ghose	10	0	0
Mr. B. M. Risbith	10	0	0
Mr. N. Bakshi	20	0	0
Mr. A. W. Henry	10	0	0

				Rs.	A.	P.
Mr. Srinivash Malgujar	...	...	...	5	0	0
Mr. Harikisen Das	...	...	...	20	0	0
Mr. & Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai	...	...	...	1,500	0	0
Seth Manuklal Masukbhai	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
Seth Lalbhai Dalpatbhai	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
Sir Chunibhai Madholal	...	...	...	700	0	0
Seth Hiralal Tricamlal	...	...	...	700	0	0
Girdharidas Hariballav Das Trust Fund	...	...	...	500	0	0
Seth Gopal Das Mambhai	...	...	...	501	0	0
Seth Maranbhai Manibhai	...	...	...	500	0	0
Messrs. P. M. Hathising & Co.	...	...	...	500	0	0
Seth Sankerlal Ballavbhai	...	...	...	300	0	0
Dr. Ramanlal Patel	...	...	...	50	0	0
Mr. S. Ganguly	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
Mr. Saneal Bachhar	...	...	...	200	0	0
Mr. Chottelal B. Patel	...	...	...	100	0	0
Mr. D. Hora	...	...	...	25	0	0
Principal, St. John's College, Agra	...	...	...	115	0	0
Principal, Agra College	...	...	...	200	0	0
Mr. P. C. Mukherjee	...	...	...	65	0	0
Raja Said Md. Loadatali Khan	...	...	...	50	0	0
Rev. U. Ottama	...	...	...	15	0	0
H. H. Maharajah of Awagarh	...	...	...	9,975	0	0
H. H. Maharaja of Pithapuram	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
Mr. Mehta Udhadas	...	...	...	20	0	0
Dr. N. N. Sen	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
Mr. J. P. Sreevastava	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
„ R. B. B. Vikramajit Singh	...	...	...	250	0	0
„ A. Grezo	...	...	...	300	0	0
„ L. Rameswara Prasad Bagia	...	...	...	250	0	0
„ Lakshminarayan Girdharilal	...	...	...	250	0	0
„ Kasiram Kanuhailala	...	...	...	200	0	0
„ Lala Chunilal Maheswari	...	...	...	131	0	0
„ Nehalchand Baldeosahai	...	...	...	250	0	0
„ Hiralal Khanna	...	...	...	50	0	0
A Friend	...	...	...	50	0	0

					Rs.	A.	P.
Mr. S. S. Gill	...	...	...	...	51	0	0
„ Narayan Prasad Nigam	...	...	...	...	51	0	0
„ Jagadish Prasad	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
„ P. C. Kapoor	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
„ S. C. Chatterjee	...	...	...	...	71	2	3
Baroda State	...	...	...	...	383	8	0
Received through Mr. C. F. Andrews	...	...	...	...	3,500	0	0
„ „ „ S. N. Kar	...	...	...	...	110	0	0
„ „ „ Susil Kumar Ghosh	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
„ „ „ S. N. Kar	...	...	...	...	738	6	0
Jujitsu fees from Students	...	...	...	...	270	0	0
Sale of autographed photos	...	...	...	...	95	0	0
Sale of Poems & Pictures	...	...	...	...	12	8	0
Sale of Canvas	...	...	...	...	1	8	0
Interest on Investment	...	...	...	...	148	10	6
Miscellaneous Donation Collected by the Founder-President	...	...	...	...	3,375	0	6
Total...					34,666	2	9

C. General Donations.

Date.							
4-1-30.	Mr. F. Armstrong	...	...	...	54	3	3
30-6-30.	Mrs. Reba Sarkar	...	...	...	50	0	0
2-7-30.	Mr. Hiran Kumar Sanyal	...	...	...	25	0	0
23-7-30.	Bansda State	...	...	...	500	0	0
24-9-30.	Miss E. Bompus	...	...	...	6	15	0
	Theosophical Publishing, Madras	...	...	...	7	0	0
	Mr. V. J. Scrutiniat	...	...	...	20	14	0
	Rabindranath Tagore	...	...	...	1,900	0	0
	Do. Do.	...	...	...	4,888	13	0
27-9-30.	Mr. Nandalal Kalidas	...	...	...	50	0	0
					7,502	13	3

Rs. A. P.

D. Earmarked Donations.

Government of Bengal	...	...	...	5,000	0	0
Mr. Jagadananda Roy	...	...	...	125	0	0
Bhandarkar Research Institute	...	...	...	600	0	0
Malay Donation	...	...	...	7,725	12	9
Proceeds of 'Tapati'	...	...	...	3,942	0	0
				<hr/>		
				17,392	12	9
				<hr/>		

E. Annual Grants.

1-5-30. Tipperah State	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
23-7-30. Baroda State	...	...	...	6,000	0	0
				<hr/>		
				7,000	0	0
				<hr/>		

Summary.

B. Earmarked Funds	...	...	...	96,257	6	10
C. General Donations	...	...	...	7,502	13	3
D. Earmarked Donations	...	...	...	17,392	12	9
E. Annual Grants	...	...	...	7,000	0	0
				<hr/>		
				1,28,153	0	10
				<hr/>		

APPENDIX B.

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Rabindranath Tagore, Nilratan Sircar, Hirendra Nath Dutta, Pramatha Choudhury, Surendranath Tagore, Rathindranath Tagore, Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis (*Karma-Sachiva*), Narendra Nath Law (*Artha-Sachiva*, upto '16-9-30) and Indubhushan Sen (*Artha-Sachiva*, from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930).

APPENDIX C.

MEMBERS OF THE SAMSAD (GOVERNING BODY), 1930.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President): Rabindranath Tagore.
Upacharya (Vice-President): Surendranath Tagore.
Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer): Narendranath Law (upto 16-9-30).
Indubhushan Sen (from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930).
Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary): Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis.
Santiniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Santiniketan): Pramadaranjan Ghose.
Sriniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Sriniketan): Rathindranath Tagore.
Secretary, Publishing Board: Charuchandra Bhattacharya.

Ordinary Members.

For 1930: Debendramohan Bose, Amal Home, Jagadananda Ray, Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, Nepalchandra Ray, Mrs. Kiranbala Sen.
For 1930 and 1931: Pramathanath Banerjee, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Kshitimohan Sen, Kalidas Nag, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jitendra Mohan Sen, Sisir Kumar Mitra, Indubhushan Sen.
Members from outside Bengal (for 1930): A. P. Sen, Ambalal Sarabhai, R. Uchida, M. R. Jayakar.
Elected under Statute 14 (i) (for 1930): Miss Hembala Sen, Nandalal Bose, Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, P. Benoit, C. F. Andrews.

Representatives.

Santiniketan-Samiti (for 1930): E. W. Ariam, Gourgopal Ghose, Surendranath Kar.
Sriniketan-Samiti (for 1930): Santoshbihari Bose.
For 1930 and 1931: Kalimohan Ghose.

Co-opted Members.

For 1930: A. C. Banerjee, Surendranath Mallik, Jatindranath Basu, Amiya Kumar Sen, Susobhan Chandra Sarkar.

APPENDIX D.

MEMBERS OF THE KARMA-SAMITI (EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE), 1930.

Ex-officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President): Rabindranath Tagore.
Upacharya (Vice-President): Surendranath Tagore.

Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Narendranath Law (up to 16-9-30).

Indubhushan Sen (from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930).

Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis.

Ordinary Members.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Debendramohan Bose, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Surendranath Kar, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Nepal Chandra Ray, I. B. Sen, Jitendramohan Sen, Rathindranath Tagore.

APPENDIX E.

MEMBERS OF THE SANTINIKETAN SAMITI, 1930.

Rabindranath Tagore, Narendranath Law (upto 16-9-30), Indubhushan Sen (from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930), Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Rabindranath Tagore, Pramodaranjan Ghose, Sisir Kumar Mitra, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Jagadananda Ray, Prabhat Kumar Mukherji, Satyajiban Pal, Surendranath Kar, Nagendranarayan Choudhury, Manomohan De, Hemabala Sen, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, Nepal Chandra Ray, E. W. Ariam, Gour Gopal Ghose, Tanayendranath Ghosh, Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Kalimohan Ghose.

APPENDIX F.

MEMBERS OF THE SRINIKETAN SAMITI, 1930.

Rabindranath Tagore, Narendranath Law (upto 16-9-30), Indubhushan Sen (from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930), Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Rathindranath Tagore, Pramodaranjan Ghose, Jagadananda Roy, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Sisir Kumar Mitra, Gour Gopal Ghose, Kalimohan Ghose, Santosh Bihari Bose, Jitendra Chandra Chakravorty, Dhirananda Roy, Manindra Chandra Roy, Manindra Chandra Sen, Surendranath Kar.

APPENDIX G.

MEMBERS OF THE PUBLISHING BOARD, 1930.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Ramananda Chatterji, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Apurva Kumar Chanda, Amal Home, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Hiran Kumar Sanyal, Rathindranath Tagore, Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Kishorimohan Santra.

APPENDIX H.

MEMBERS OF THE SAMSAD (GOVERNING BODY), 1931.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabiudranath Tagore.

Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.

Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Indubhushan Sen.

Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Rathindranath Tagore.
Santiniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Santiniketan) : Promada Ranjan Ghose.
Sriniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Sriniketan) : Gourgopal Ghose.
Secretary, Publishing Board : Charuchandra Bhattacharya.

Ordinary Members.

For 1931 : Pramathanath Banerjee, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Kshitimohan Sen, Kalidas Nag, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jitendra Mohan Sen, Sisir Kumar Mitra.
For 1931-1932 : Debendramohan Bose, Amal Home, Surendranath Mallik, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, Kishorimohan Santra, Amiya Kumar Sen, Susobhan Chandra Sarkar.
Members from outside Bengal (for 1931) : Atul Prosad Sen, Ambalal Sarabhai, M. R. Jayakar, Martin Bodmer.
Elected under Statute 14 (I) (for 1931) : Hembala Sen, Nandalal Bose, Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, Jagadananda Ray, Jatindra-nath Bose.

Representatives.

Santiniketan-Samiti (for 1931-1932) : Surendranath Kar, Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Nepal Chandra Ray.
Sriniketan-Samiti (for 1931) : Kalimohan Ghosh.
(for 1931-1932) : Santosh Bihari Bose.

Co-Opted Members.

For 1931 : A. C. Bauerjee, Bijoy Bihari Mukherjee, Asha Adhikari.

Nominated Member.

For 1931 : G. S. Dutt, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis.

APPENDIX I.

MEMBERS OF THE KARMA-SAMITI (EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE), 1931.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.
Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.
Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Indubhushan Sen.
Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Rathindranath Tagore.

Ordinary Members.

Promodaranjan Ghosh, Gourgopal Ghosh, Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Debendramohan Bose, Sunitikumar Chatterjee, Sudhirkumar Lahiri, Nepalchandra Roy, Jitendramohan Sen.

APPENDIX J.

MEMBERS OF SANTINIKETAN-SAMITI, 1931.

Rabindranath Tagore, Indubhushan Sen, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Gourgopal Ghosh, Pramadarajan Ghosh, Kshitimohan Sen, Sunitikumar Chatterjee, Asha Devi, Tanayendranath Ghosh, B. W. Ariam, Surendranath Kar, Nandalal Bose, Nepalchandra Roy, Jagadananda Roy, Rathindranath Tagore, Vidusekhara Bhattacharya, Nalinchandra Ganguly, Hembala Sen, Kalimohan Ghosh.

APPENDIX K.**MEMBERS OF THE SRINIKETAN-SAMITI, 1931.**

Rabindranath Tagore, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Indubhushan Sen, Promodaranjan Ghosh, Gourgopal Ghosh, Kalimohan Ghosh, Santosh Bihari Bose, J. Chakravarty, Sudhirkumar Lahiri, Joytishchandra Ghosh, Jagadananda Roy, Rathindranath Tagore, Surendranath Kar, Dhirendranath Roy, Manindra Chandra Roy.

APPENDIX L.**MEMBERS OF THE PUBLISHING BOARD, 1931.**

Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Ramananda Chatterjee, Sunitikumar Chatterjee, Amal Home, Sudhirkumar Lahiri, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Hiran Kumar Sanyal, Rathindranath Tagore, Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Kishorimohan Santra, Debendramohan Bose.

APPENDIX M.

VISVA-BHARATI
BALANCE SHEET
AND
ACCOUNTS

For the year ending 30th September, 1930.

RAY & RAY
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS
6, Church Lane,
CALCUTTA.

Dated the 13th December, 1930.

The Secretary,
Visva-Bharati,
Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

We have compiled the attached Balance Sheet and Accounts of Visva-Bharati for the year ending 30th September, 1930, from the books and vouchers presented to us and from the information and explanations supplied, and we have signed the Balance Sheet subject to the following report:—

1. *Kalabhavana Fund*.—The Kalabhavana Income and Expenditure account has been incorporated in the Santiniketan Income and Expenditure account and the deficit on this account has been carried to the General Revenue Account.

In this connexion, we think that the old deficit on this account amounting to Rs. 7,180-4-9 should be written off against the General Revenue Account, if it is now decided that no separate Income and Expenditure account need be prepared for this fund.

2. *Limbdi*.—The whole of Rs. 10,000/- of this Fund has been drawn by the General Fund, and the General Fund has allowed interest at the rate of 6% to this fund.

3. *Caution Money*.—Rs. 1,113-8-0. This amount is included in the General deposit at Santiniketan. We have not been able to verify the exact liability under this head for want of detail information. In our opinion a detailed list should be prepared containing the names of students to whom the amounts are due.

4. *Government Paper & Port Trust Debenture*.—The Government Paper and Port Trust Debenture have been shown on the Balance Sheet at their face value, except in the case of the Government Paper held on account of the Nizam's Fund, which is shown at cost and includes the interest paid for on the date of purchase.

5. *Outstanding at Santiniketan*.—This includes a sum of Rs. 7,425-3-9 being Tuition Fees outstanding which we could not verify and we are not sure how far the same is realisable. In this connexion we would like to

draw your attention to our remarks under the head of Tution Fees in our previous report.

6. *General Notes (Santiniketan).*—All the departmental bills must be checked and signed by some responsible person and the work certificate duly signed by the heads of the departments before the same is passed for payment.

No voucher was produced for detail payments made by Secretary, Sanitation Committee for Sanitation work.

7. *The amount of Rs. 118-14-9* was paid to Director, Kala-bhavana as royalty by Publishing Department but has not been credited to Kala-bhavana Fund.

8. *Interest on Investment.*—Except Nobel Prize Fund no outstanding interest have been taken into the accounts.

9. *Capital Expenditure.*—We find from the budget that Capital expenditure whether at Santiniketan or Sriniketan can only be made under the authority of the General Secretary at Calcutta, but during this year Rs. 2,444-13-9 has been spent at Santiniketan for Hostel Furniture, and also Rs. 2,153-1-9 has been spent by Sriniketan out of Revenue for Capital expenditure kept in suspense for which we have seen no proper authority.

10. *President Fund.*—We have not vouched any payments or Receipts of President Fund which has been incorporated to General Account as per statement of Santiniketan and also could not verify its balance with Visva-Bharati Central Co-operative Bank. It appears that out of Rs. 3,118-2-6 shown in the Balance Sheet under Visva-Bharati Central Co-operative Bank, Rs. 425-5-6 belongs to General Fund.

Yours faithfully,

RAY AND RAY.

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		Rs.		A. P.		Rs.		A. P.		Rs.		A. P.	
Brought forward		...		10,47,486		0		11		...		7,05,883	
SURPLUS OF FUND INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—		...		93		4		0		8,900		0	
Prosad Night School Fund		...		199		4		0		4,000		0	
Pestonji P. Pocha Fund		...		872		13		6		1,000		0	
Aruna Amita Fund		...		1,498		3		6		2,000		0	
Limbd Sanatorium Fund		...		306		2		0		2,000		0	
Bai Hira Bai Fund		...		646		5		2		1,000		0	
Society of Friends		...		2,692		13		0		...		...
President Fund		
LOAN TO GENERAL FUND (AS PER CONTRA)—		...		6,308		13		2		18,900		0	
Limbd Sanatorium Fund		...		10,000		0		0		...		231	
Striniketan Grant Fund		...		12,245		15		1		1,12,000		0	
Publishing Department		...		10,054		7		7		5,239		9	
DEPOSIT AT GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—		...		32,300		6		8		1,231		3	
Pestonji P. Pocha Fund		...		204		4		0		14,310		7	
Sharman History Fund		
Aruna Amita Endowment		...		0		13		4		1,01,145		1	
Limbd Sanatorium Fund		...		782		13		6		31,200		0	
Bai Hira Bai Fund		...		1,498		3		6		10,000		0	
Society of Friends		...		306		2		0		9,000		0	
Prosad Night School Fund		...		646		5		2		5,000		0	
Pearson Hospital Fund		...		98		4		0		...		...
IN GOVERNMENTS PAPER AND PORT TRUST DEBENTURES—		...		59		1		0		1,56,345		1	
Nizam's Fund		
Kalabhavana Fund		
Aruna Amita Endowment		
Bai Hira Bai Fund		
Pestonji P. Pocha Fund		
LOAN TO DEPARTMENTS (AS PER CONTRA)—		...		3,680		14		6		26,000		0	
Kalabhavana Fund to Publishing Department			6,000		0	
Indian Studies Fund to Printing Press		
Carried over		...		10,89,776		3		3		...		10,46,231	
Carried over			6	
Carried over			3	

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward	10,89,776	3 3	Brought forward	...	...	10,46,231	6 3
ADVANCE FROM GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—	LOAN TO GENERAL FUND (AS PER CONTRA)—	...	...	...	...
Sharman History Fund	...	15 4 5	...	...	Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	...	...	10,000	0 0
Kalabhavana Fund	...	7,608 14 8	...	...	ADVANCE FROM GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—	...	...	...	...
Santiniketan Trust	...	3,708 6 9	...	...	Sharman History Fund	...	15 4 3	...	...
Ratan Kuthi	...	344 7 9	...	...	Kalabhavana Fund	...	7,608 14 8	...	...
Birla Kuthi	...	8,684 10 0	...	...	Santiniketan Trust	...	3,708 6 9	...	...
Nizam Fund	...	3,284 15 2	...	...	Ratan Kuthi	...	344 7 9	...	...
Kadoorji Water Works	...	111 9 9	...	...	Birla Kuthi	...	8,684 10 0	...	...
BENGAL NATIONAL BANK LTD. (IN LIQUIDATION)—	23,758	4 4	Nizam Fund	...	3,284 15 2	...	...
IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA (GENERAL OFFICE)—	95	11 9	Kadoorji Water Works	...	111 9 9	23,758	4 4
DEPOSIT—	DEPOSIT AT GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—	...	...	...	...
At Santiniketan (as per last Account)	...	2,204 9 1	...	...	Pestonji P. Pocha Fund	...	204 4 0	...	...
„ General Office	...	65 11 0	...	...	Sharman History Fund	...	0 13 4	...	...
LIABILITY—	Aruna Amita Endowment	...	872 13 6	...	...
At General Office	...	125 0 0	...	...	Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	...	1,498 3 6	...	...
„ Santiniketan	...	3,224 9 11	...	...	Bai Hira Bai Fund	...	306 2 0	...	...
SUSPENSE AT GENERAL OFFICE	Pearson Hospital Fund	...	59 1 0	...	...
	Society of Friends	...	646 5 2	...	...
	Prosad Night School Fund	...	93 4 0	3,680	14 6
	LOAN FROM GENERAL FUND TO PRINTING PRESS—	...	...	14,524	15 3
	GENERAL INVESTMENTS—	...	...	...	...
	Government Paper	...	100 0 0	...	...
	Bengal Provincial Bank, Ltd.	...	1,500 0 0	...	...
	Shares in Santiniketan Samavaya Bhandar	...	170 0 0	...	...
	Shares of Co-operative Bank	...	300 0 0	...	...
	Postal Savings Bank	...	16 9 7	2,086	9 7
Carried over	11,34,253	13 11	Carried over	...	...	11,00,282	1 11

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.		Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward	11,34,253	13 11	Brought forward	...	11,00,282	1 11
	Paddy Stock at Santiniketan	...	185	0 0
	Stock of Manual Training Pro- duction (Santiniketan)	...	48	8 0
	Live Stock at Santiniketan	...	315	0 0
	Outstanding at Santiniketan	...	9,019	11 3
						Outstanding at General Office	...	3,518	9 3
						Suspense at General Office	...	998	11 6
CASH AT BANKS—									
						Imperial Bank of India (Tre- surers)	...	217	0 1
						Visva-Bharati Central Co-op- erative Bank (Santiniketan)	...	1,545	13 9
						Visva-Bharati Central Co-op- erative Bank	...	3,118	2 6
								4,881	0 4
								699	9 3
CASH IN TRANSIT (SANTINIKETAN) ...									
						CASH IN HAND (AS CERTIFIED BY SECRETARY)—			
						General Office	...	117	11 10
						Quarterly Office	...	48	15 8
								166	11 6
DEFICIT FROM INCOME AND EXPEN- DITURE ACCOUNT OF FUNDS									
						Kalabhavana Fund (as per last Account)	...	7,180	4 9
						Sharma History Fund	...	15	4 3
						Santiniketan Trust	...	3,708	6 9
						Nizam's Fund	...	3,284	15 2
								14,188	14 11
Carried over	11,34,253	13 11	Carried over	...	11,34,253	13 11

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward	11,34,253	13 11	Brought forward	...	...	11,34,253	13 11
SRINIKETAN—					LAND AT SRINIKETAN				
CAPITAL FUND					As per last Account	17,342	10 3		
As per last Account	...	1,56,487	13	8	Since Added	2,009	11 0		
Add—Excess of Income over Ex-								19,352	5 3
penditure from Income and Ex-					BUILDING AT SRINIKETAN				
penditure Account	...	5,008	5	11	As per last Account	1,14,980	12 0		
Add—Capital Grant from Mr. Elmhirst	...	5,000	0	0	Since Added	5,600	7 6		
Add—Capital Grant from Gov-								1,20,581	3 6
ernment of Bengal	...	5,000	0	0	WELL (AT CHEAP'S KUTHI)	...	...	1,372	4 0
LIABILITIES	1,71,496	3 7	MACHINERIES				
			308	0 0	As per last Account	5,392	3 11		
					Less—Depreciation	404	6 7		
						4,987	13 4		
					Since Added	693	4 9		
					LIBRARY AND MUSEUM (AS PER LAST ACCOUNT)	...	...	5,681	2 1
					LABORATORY			262	7 0
					As per last Account	304	11 9		
					Since Added	740	7 3		
								1,045	3 0
					FURNITURE AND FITTINGS				
					As per last Account	1,569	10 8		
					Less—Depreciation	78	7 9		
						1,491	2 11		
					Since Added	571	10 9		
								2,062	13 8
					ADVANCE (AS PER LAST ACCOUNT)	...	...	371	6 6
					CARPENTRY AND SMITHY				
					As per last Account	663	13 6		
					Since Added	424	14 0		
Carried over	13,06,058	1 6				1,088	11 6
					Carried over	...	...	12,86,071	6 5

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward	18,62,445	8 5	Brought forward	...	...	18,62,445	8 5
PRINTING PRESS—									
Loan from General Fund	14,524	15 3	MACHINERIES	...	...	10,354	3 0
Loan from Indian Studies Fund	6,000	0 0	As per last Account	...	...	...	...
Advance	50	0 0	Less—Depreciation	...	...	517	5 3
					Since Added	...	...	9,829	8 0
					Outstanding	...	...	525	0 0
					Cash in Hand	...	...	...	...
					PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT	...	...	1,556	14 0
					Previous Year's Loss	...	...	506	5 3
					Since Added	...	...	8,177	9 0
TOTAL	18,83,020	7 8	TOTAL	...	...	18,83,020	7 8

We have compiled the above Balance Sheet and attached Accounts from the books and vouchers presented to us and from the information and explanations supplied. Subject to our letter addressed to the Secretary, we are of opinion that the Balance Sheet shows a true and correct view of the Society's affairs as disclosed by the books produced to us in accordance with the information and explanations received.

6, CHURCH LANE,
Calcutta the 13th December, 1930.

RAY & RAY,
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS,
Auditors.

VISVA-BHARATI.

Total Revenue Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To Deficit from Santiniketan	13,298	9 11	By Donation ...	...	14,113	14 3
" Deficit from Visva-Bharati	" Nobel Prize Fund (Interest) ...	...	7,840	0 0
Quarterly	51	12 3	" Royalty on Books ...	...	5,781	2 9
Contribution to Visva-Bharati	1,167	1 0	" Royalty on Outside Publication	...	4,361	2 0
Quarterly	551	0 6	" Annual Grant, Tipperah State	...	1,000	0 0
Contribution to Provident Fund	1,498	10 9	" Subscription ...	...	862	5 0
Publication	377	15 6	" Life Members Fund ...	...	591	13 0
Audit Expenses	665	5 0	" Mahabharat Collation ...	...	690	0 0
Rates and Taxes	189	2 0	" Contribution from President ...	...	2,058	0 9
Travelling	265	15 3	" Sale Proceeds of Tapati ...	...	3,942	0 0
Postage	124	12 0				
Printing	167	12 9				
Stationery	332	0 0				
Rent	36	0 0				
Light	1,068	4 6				
Establishment	467	8 0				
Sundries	1,703	12 2				
Interest	20	1 0				
Calcutta Exhibition	1,909	9 3				
Land Acquisition Charges	941	5 6				
Mahabharat Collation	90	0 0				
Annual Meeting	125	13 0				
Settlement Expenses	7	8 0				
Advertisement				
DEPRECIATION								
On Machinery @ 7½%	6,495	4 6						
" Furniture @ 5%	842	13 0						
Old Advance Written off	7,338	1 6				
Net Surplus to Balance Sheet	30	0 0				
	9,877	5 11				
TOTAL	41,100	5 9	TOTAL	...	41,100	5 9

VISVA-BHARATI. SANTINIKETAN.

Total Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	By Net Surplus from—	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To NET DEFICIT AT—									
Kalabhavana	1,191	3 9	Vidyabhavana	...	...	1,471	0 6
Siksha-Bibhaga	1,984	0 6	Hostel	...	...	441	4 9
Pathabhavana	2,921	15 3	Sports	...	...	321	8 0
Sreebhavana	204	11 3	Kitchen	...	...	921	11 7
Library	2,434	1 9					
Swasthyabhavana	400	14 9	ADMISSION FEE	...	2,533	8 0	
Power House	1,933	11 0	Less—Disbursement for	...			
Up-Keep	2,847	12 0	Hostel Furniture	...	2,444	13 9	
Office	2,677	15 0					
Contribution to Asram Sam- milani	14	6 3	Transfer Fee and Fine	...	...	138	10 3
Bank Charges	15	15 0	Interest from Bank	...	...	34	0 0
					Net Deficit transferred to Total Revenue Account	...	...	4	13 6
								13,293	9 11
TOTAL	16,626	10 6	TOTAL	...	...	16,626	10 6

VISVA-BHARATI. SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

		VISVA-BHARATI—		SANTINIKETAN—	
		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
TO ESTABLISHMENT					
To Establishment	...	6,580	0 0	By Baroda Grant	...
" Scholarship	...	360	0 0	" Zoroastrian Fund	...
" Books and Journal	...	164	5 6	" Interest from Pocha Fund	...
" Zoroastrian Professor	...	3,000	0 0	" Interest from Indian Studies Fund	...
" Contingencies	...	140	4 0		...
" Contribution to Provident Fund	...	91	14 0		...
" Net Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure Account	...	1,471	0 6		...
TOTAL	...	11,557	8 0	TOTAL	...
TO ESTABLISHMENT					
To Establishment	...	5,508	0 0	KALABHAVANA (ART)—	...
" Miscellaneous	...	376	14 9	By Tuition Fees	...
" Hostel Expenses	...	179	12 3	" Hostel Fees	...
" Net Surplus to Kalabhavana (Music)	...	187	12 3	" Interest from Funds	...
TOTAL	...	6,252	7 3	TOTAL	...
TO ESTABLISHMENT					
To Establishment	...	1,140	0 0	KALABHAVANA (MUSIC)—	...
" Scholarship	...	240	0 0	By Interest	...
" Miscellaneous	...	61	8 0	" Transfer from Kalabhavana (Art)	...
TOTAL	...	1,441	8 0	" Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account	...
TO ESTABLISHMENT					
To Establishment	...	5,422	13 6	SIKSHAVIBHAGA—	...
" Books and Apparatus	...	109	11 9	By Tuition Fees	...
" Contingencies	...	120	11 0	" Hostel Fees	...
" Hostel Expenses	...	239	1 9	" Sharmas History Fund	...
" History Allowance	...	63	1 6	" Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account	...
" Contribution to Sriniketan (Laboratory fees for Science Students)	...	250	0 0		...
" Contribution to Provident Fund	...	27	13 0		...
TOTAL	...	6,333	4 6	TOTAL	...

VISVA-BHAKATI. SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

		PATHABHAVANA—				RS. A. P.	
		Rs.	A. P.			Rs.	A. P.
To Establishment	...	12,701	1 6	By Tuition Fees	...	9,512	8 0
" Books and Maps	...	73	3 6	" Contribution from Hostel	...	640	0 0
" Weaving	...	50	0 0	" Contribution from President Fund	...	600	0 0
" Laboratory	...	200	0 0	" Income from Manuel Training Department	...	48	8 0
" Manual Training	...	144	11 6	" Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account	...	2,921	15 3
" Equipment	...	150	9 6				
" Contingencies	...	235	13 3				
" Contribution to Provident Fund	...	167	8 0				
TOTAL	...	13,722	15 3	TOTAL	...	13,722	15 3
To Establishment	...	PATHABHAVANA HOSTEL—					
" Miscellaneous	...	1,005	6 6	By Fees	...	2,355	0 0
" Contribution to Pathabhavana	...	268	4 9				
" Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure Account	...	640	0 0				
TOTAL	...	441	4 9	TOTAL	...	2,355	0 0
To Establishment	...	SREEBHAVANA—					
" Fees to Kalabhavana	...	1,026	0 9	By Tuition Fees	...	2,691	8 0
" Fees to Sikhabhavana	...	425	0 0	" Hostel Fees	...	1,261	4 0
" Fees to Pathabhavana	...	497	8 0	" Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account	...	204	11 3
" Hostel Expenses	...	1,769	0 0				
" Contingencies	...	428	6 6				
TOTAL	...	11	8 0	TOTAL	...	4,157	7 3
To Establishment	...	LIBRARY—					
" Books	...	2,032	13 0	By Interest from Fund	...	125	0 0
" Binding	...	370	9 6	" Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account	...	2,434	1 9
" Contingencies	...	55	0 0				
" Contribution to Provident Fund	...	73	8 3				
TOTAL	...	27	3 0	TOTAL	...	2,559	1 9

VISVA-BHARATI. SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

SWASTHYABHAVANA—				Rs. A. P.	
	Rs.	A.	P.		
To Establishment	1,831	8 0
" Drugs	44	8 0
" Sick Diet	8	7 0
" Segregation Ward		
" Contingencies	400	14 9
" Contribution to Provident Fund		
TOTAL	2,688	5 9		2,688	5 9
SPORTS—					
To Sporting Goods, etc.		
" Net Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure Account	1,045	12 0
TOTAL	1,045	12 0		1,045	12 0
KITCHEN—					
To Establishment	17,552	12 0
" Food	2,380	6 8
" Utensils	447	8 8
" Contingencies		
" Light and Water Supply		
" Dairy		
" Net Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure Account		
TOTAL	20,360	5 6		20,360	5 6
POWER HOUSE—					
To Establishment	1,797	8 0
" Fuel	746	8 0
" Repairs	790	0 0
" Kerosene Oil	65	2 0
" Contingencies		
" Net Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure Account	1,988	11 0
TOTAL	5,832	18 0		5,832	18 0

**VISVA-BHARATI.
SANTINIKETAN.**

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

	Rs. A. P.	UP-KEEP—		Rs. A. P.	By Rent from Staff and Others Farm and Garden Produce " Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account	Rs. A. P.
		Rs. A. P.	By			
TO FARM—						
" Establishment	...	144 0 0		...	...	880 0 0
" Maintenance of Bullocks	...	21 0 9		...	...	125 18 8
" Miscellaneous	...	61 11 9		...	...	2,847 12 0
				226 12 6		
				2,305 1 9		
TO REPAIRS—						
" Establishment	...	480 0 0				
" Materials	...	670 12 6				
" Labours	...	1,154 5 8				
TO GARDEN—						
" Establishment	...	288 0 0				
" Miscellaneous	...	47 10 0				
				385 10 0		
TO NIGHT WATCH—						
" Watchmen	...	895 8 0				
" Miscellaneous	...	18 2 0				
				418 10 0		
TO SANITATION—						
" Sweepers	...	480 0 0				
" Miscellaneous	...	72 7 0				
				552 7 0		
TOTAL		3,833 9 8	TOTAL	3,833 9 8
TO ESTABLISHMENT—						
" Postage and Telegram	OFFICE—	1,797 14 6		
" Stationery and Printing	By Net Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account	440 10 6	...	
" Contingencies		224 10 9	...	2,677 15 0
" Travelling		144 11 8	...	
		70 0 0	...	
TOTAL		2,677 15 0	TOTAL	2,677 15 0

VISVA-BHAKATI. SRINKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

VILLAGE WELFARE WORK.

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To Establishment	6,306	4 9	By Income during the year	...
" Primary Education	303	2 6	" Net Deficit to Total Income	505 0 3
" Adult Education	147	10 0	and Expenditure Account	...
" Public Health	515	15 6		7,613 9 0
" Travelling	211	3 0		
" Extension Work	153	10 6		8,118 9 3
" Contingency	63	7 3		
" Brati Balak	407	3 9		
TOTAL	8,118	9 3	TOTAL	...
						8,118 9 3

EDUCATION.

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To Establishment	4,030	0 0	By Games Fees	...
" Library	326	7 0	" Laboratory Fees	...
" Laboratory	949	6 0	" Boarding Charges	...
" Games	213	8 3	" Students Fees	...
" Students Mess	592	3 3	" Girls Fees	...
" Contingency	237	14 6	" Miscellaneous	...
					" Net Deficit to Total Income	...
					and Expenditure Account	...
TOTAL	6,399	7 0	TOTAL	...
						6,399 7 0

AGRICULTURE.

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT—			4,950	0 0	BY INCOME FROM FARM DURING THE	
" FIRM (DEMONSTRATION)—			2,747	9 3	YEAR	...
Opening Live Stock	600	0 0		...
" Stock of Straw	80	0 0		...
Establishment	264	0 0		...
Labour	1,203	1 6		...
Seeds and Manure	400	7 6		...
Cattle Feeds	123	14 3		...
Repairs and Contingencies	71	2 0		...
Carried over	7,697	9 3	Carried over	...
						985 3 3

VISVA-BHARATI. SRINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)
AGRICULTURE.

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	BROUGHT FORWARD.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
BROUGHT FORWARD.	7,697	9 3		...	...	985	5 3 4
To FARM (EXTENSION)—			2,182	9 6	By INCOME FROM DAIRY DURING THE YEAR—			1,655	2 6
Labour	...	120 12 9			" INCOME FROM POULTRY DURING THE YEAR—	...	...	852	10 3
Seeds and Manure	...	99 12 0			" CLOSING LIVE STOCK—	...	...	1,187	4 0
Contingencies	...	11 5 0			Dairy ..	...	330 0 0		
Oil and Fuel	...	743 15 9			Poultry	...	337 4 0		
Establishment	...	431 6 0			Farm ..	...	500 0 0		
Repairs to Tractor	...	378 12 6							
Experiment	...	336 9 6							
" DAIRY EXPENSES—			1,895	6 9	" NET DEFICIT TO TOTAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT	...	...	9,710	5 3
Opening Stock	...	520 0 0							
Establishment	...	192 0 0							
Feeds	...	1,039 3 9							
Contingencies	...	144 3 0							
" POULTRY EXPENSES—			2,114	15 9					
Opening Stock	...	205 0 0							
Establishment	...	1,086 0 0							
Feeds	...	356 2 3							
Incubator running	...	27 10 6							
Extension Work	...	304 6 6							
Repairs and Contingencies	...	165 12 6							
Total	13,890	9 3	Total	...	...	13,890	9 3

**VISVA-BHAKATI.
SRINIKETAN.**

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

INDUSTRY.

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
TO GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT—								
WEAVING EXPENSES—								
Opening Stock	1,800	0 0	By Income from Weaving during the year ...	...	...	...
Establishment	4,998	10 0	" Income from Tannery during the year ...	...	...	2,399 8 6
Labour	973	1 0	" Income from Smithy during the year ...	...	...	509 15 6
Raw Materials	1,140	0 0	" CLOSING STOCK—	...	...	15 5 6
Travelling	1,229	12 6	Weaving ...	615	1 6	1,129 12 6
Experiment	66	13 9	Tannery ...	514	11 0	
Contingencies	72	14 6				
Extension Work	33	1 0				
	622	12 6				
TANNERY EXPENSES—								
Opening Stock	" Net Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account ...	...	...	5,888 14 6
Establishment	434	13 0				
Raw Materials	1,332	0 0				
Tanning Materials and Chemicals	182	8 6				
Contingencies	157	5 0				
Extension Work	78	6 9				
	46	8 6				
CARPENTRY EXPENSES—								
Establishment				
Contingencies	360	0 0				
	2	12 6				
SMITHY EXPENSES—								
Establishment				
Raw Materials	489	15 3				
Contingencies	17	14 5				
	12	10 6				
TOTAL	9,913	8 6	TOTAL	...	...	9,913 8 6

VISVA-BHARATI. SRINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CRAFTS.							
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.
To GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT—	...	...	600	0 0	...	...	1,001 0 6
" LACQUER WORK EXPENSES—	...	...	...	...	...	...	132 5 6
Opening Stock ...	400	8 0	...	...	...	...	...
Establishment ...	659	15 3	...	...	...	...	...
Materials ...	534	1 6	...	...	...	...	...
Contingencies ...	105	5 3	...	...	...	...	...
Scholarship ...	59	8 0	...	...	...	...	...
Fuel ...	14	8 0	...	...	...	...	...
POTTERY EXPENSES—	...	...	1,773	14 0	...	...	811 7 0
Establishment ...	20	0 0	...	...	...	...	...
Fuel ...	4	8 0	...	...	...	...	1,271 7 3
BOOK BINDING EXPENSES—	...	...	24	8 0	...	...	...
Opening Stock ...	129	12 0	...	...	...	...	...
Establishment ...	168	8 0	...	...	...	...	...
Materials ...	170	12 0	...	...	...	...	...
Books ...	317	8 0	...	...	...	...	...
Contingencies ...	31	6 3	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	3,216	4 3	TOTAL	...	3,216 4 3
WORKSHOP.							
ESTABLISHMENT—	...	...	986	0 0	...	...	95 12 6
CONTINGENCIES—	...	...	37	14 6	...	...	928 2 0
TOTAL	...	...	1,023	14 6	TOTAL	...	1,023 14 6
POWER HOUSE.							
ESTABLISHMENT	...	...	370	5 3	...	...	114 0 0
MATERIALS	...	...	374	5 0	...	...	766 3 3
CONTINGENCIES	...	...	106	7 0	...	...	...
Lubricating Oil, etc.	...	...	29	2 0	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	880	3 3	TOTAL	...	880 3 3

VISVA-BHARATI. SRINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

UP-KEEP.

	Rs.	A. P.	By Rent	Net Deficit to	Total Income and	Rs.	A. P.
To Establishment	Account	Expenditure	...	...
Repairs	61	0 0
" Light	3,635	2 3
" Tube Well Running		
" Road Repairs and Cleaning		
" Disinfectant		
" Contingencies		
" Contribution to District Board for Road Repairs		
" New Road		
TOTAL	3,696	2 3

OFFICE.

	Rs.	A. P.	By Sale of Stationery	Net Deficit to	Total Income and	Rs.	A. P.
To Establishment	Account	Expenditure	...	...
Stationery and Printing	26	10 0
" Postage and Telegram	4	0 0
" Travelling	11	3 0
" Publication	4,360	10 6
" Anniversary and Festival		
" Guest Entertainment		
" Exhibition		
" Contingencies		
" Contribution to Provident Fund		
" Advertisement		
" Law Charges		
TOTAL	4,402	7 6

VISVA-BHARATI. PRINTING PRESS.

Profit and Loss Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

	Rs.	A. P.		Rs.	A. P.
To Opening Stock (Paper)	...	583 4 0	By Printing	...	5,147 13 0
" Establishment	...	3,159 6 9	" Binding	...	96 14 0
" Electric Power and Light	...	272 0 0	" Loss transferred to Balance Sheet	...	194 8 0
" Contingencies	...	496 12 0			
" Paper	...	35 13 0			
" Interest on Loan	...	360 0 0			
" Depreciation (on Machinery @ 5%)	...	517 5 3			
" Contribution to Provident Fund	...	14 10 0			
TOTAL	...	5,439 3 0	TOTAL	...	5,439 3 0

VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

Profit and Loss Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

	Rs.	A. P.		Rs.	A. P.
To Printing	...	947 10 0	By Subscription	...	1,308 13 6
" Paper	...	450 0 0	" Contribution from General Fund	...	1,167 1 0
" Binding	...	189 2 0	" Cash Sale	...	17 2 3
" Establishment	...	332 14 6	" Net Loss transferred to Total Revenue Account	...	51 12 3
" Postage	...	436 9 9			
" Contingencies	...	172 15 9			
" Stationery	...	35 9 0			
" Advertisement	...	30 0 0			
TOTAL	...	2,544 13 0	TOTAL	...	2,544 13 0

VISVA-BHARATI. PERMANENT FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		A-1/14, Nobel Prize Fund.		PROPERTY AND ASSETS.		Rs. A. P.	
CAPITAL (as per last Account)	Rs.	A. P.	FIXED DEPOSIT WITH PATISAR KRISHI BANK	...	1,12,000	0 0
CAPITAL (as per last Account)	A-2/20, Prosad Night School Fund.			
Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Fund	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Bank Ltd.	...	1,000	0 0
Profit and Loss Account	" " General Office	...	93	4 0
TOTAL	TOTAL	...	1,093	4 0
CAPITAL (as per last Account)	A-3/22, Indian Studies Fund.			
...	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Bank Ltd.	...	10,000	0 0
...	Loan to Printing Press	...	...	...
TOTAL	TOTAL	...	10,000	0 0
CAPITAL (as per last Account)	A-4/24, Pestonji P. Pocha Fund.			
Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Fund	G. P. Notes	...	5,005	0 0
Profit and Loss Account	General Office	...	199	4 0
TOTAL	TOTAL	...	5,204	4 0
CAPITAL (as per last Account)	A-5/25, Sharman History Fund.			
Advance from General Fund	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Bank Ltd.	...	2,000	0 0
...	" " General Office	...	15	4 3
...	Excess of Expenditure over Profit and Loss Account	...	...	...
TOTAL	TOTAL	...	2,016	1 7

VISVA-BHARATI.

PERMANENT FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

A-6/25, Library Fund.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES. CAPITAL (as per last Account) ...	Rs. A. P.		PROPERTY AND ASSETS Deposit with Bengal Provincial Bank Ltd. ...		Rs. A. P.	
...	...	0 0	2,000	0 0

A-7/27, Aruna Amita Endowment Fund.

CAPITAL (as per last Account) ... Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Fund Profit and Loss Account ...	10,000 0 0		G. P. Notes Deposit with General Office ...		10,000 0 0 872 13 6	
...	...	0 0	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	TOTAL	...	10,872 13 6	...

A-8/27, Nizam's Fund.

CAPITAL (as per last Account) ... Advance from General Fund	1,01,145 1 2		G. P. Notes Excess of Expenditure over Income as per Fund Profit & Loss Account ...		1,01,145 1 2 3,284 15 2	
...	...	1 2	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	TOTAL	...	1,04,430 0 4	...

VISVA-BHARATI. PERMANENT FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Accounts for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	
		A-1/14, Nobel Prize Fund.			
To Transfer to Total Revenue Account	...	...	...	...	7,840 0 0
		A-2/20, Prosad Night School Fund.			
To Transfer to Fund Account	...	...	...	...	30 12 0
		By Balance	...	...	62 8 0
		By Interest	...	...
TOTAL	...	93 4 0	TOTAL	...	93 4 0
		A-3/22, Indian Studies Fund.			
To Transfer to Vidyabhavana Revenue Account	...	...	...	...	657 8 0
		A-4/24, Pestonji P. Pocha Fund.			
To Transfer to Vidyabhavana Revenue Account	...	...	...	...	199 4 0
" " Fund Account	...	...	...	...	250 0 0
		By Balance	...	...
		By Interest	...	...
TOTAL	...	449 4 0	TOTAL	...	449 4 0
		A-5/25, Sharnan History Fund.			
To Balance	...	...	...	...	125 0 0
" Transfer to Siksha Vibhaga Revenue Account	...	...	...	...	15 4 3
		By Interest	...	...
		By Balance to Fund Account	...	...
TOTAL	...	140 4 3	TOTAL	...	140 4 3
		A-6/25, Library Fund.			
To Transfer to Fund	...	...	...	...	125 0 0
		By Interest	...	...

VISVA-BHARATI. PERMANENT FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Accounts for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

A-7/27, Aruna Amita Endowment Fund.

	Rs.	A. P.		Rs.	A. P.
To Expenditure	By Balance	...	...
" Excess of Income over Expenditure	" Interest	...	...
TOTAL	TOTAL	...	...
				1,848	10 0

A-8/27, Nizam's Fund.

To Balance	...	...	By Interest	...	...
" Expenditure	...	...	" Excess of Expenditure over Income	...	...
				7,182	8 0
				8,284	15 2
TOTAL	...	...	TOTAL	...	...
				10,467	7 2

VISVA-BHARATI. EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		B-6/23, Birla Kuthi Fund.		PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	
CAPITAL—	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	BUILDINGS—	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
As per last Account	20,000 0 0	As per last Account ...	23,551 0 0	23,684 10 0
Advance from General Fund	8,684 10 0	Since Added ...	5,133 10 0	...
TOTAL	...	28,684 10 0	TOTAL	...	28,684 10 0
CAPITAL—		B-7/24, Limbdi Sanatorium Fund.		Rs. A. P.	
As per last Account	Rs. A. P.	Loan to General Fund ...	...	Rs. A. P.
Excess of Income over Expenditure	10,000 0 0	Deposit with General Office ...	...	10,000 0 0
TOTAL	...	1,498 3 6	TOTAL	...	1,498 3 6
CAPITAL—		B-8/24, Kadoorji Water Works Fund.		Rs. A. P.	
As per last Account ...	10,747 10 0	Rs. A. P.	COST OF TUBE WELL—	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Excess of Income over Expenditure, as Per Fund Revenue Account ...	894 6 9	...	As per last Account ...	4,586 0 6	...
Advance from General Fund	11,642 0 9	Since Added ...	1,898 0 6	6,484 1 0
TOTAL	...	11,753 10 6	Deposit with Patisar Krishi Bank	...	5,269 9 6
CAPITAL—		B-9/25, Bai Hira Bai Fund.		Rs. A. P.	
As per last Account	Rs. A. P.	BUILDINGS—	...	11,753 10 6
Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Fund Revenue Account	15,200 0 0	G. P. Notes and Port Trust Debentures ...	...	...
TOTAL	...	306 2 0	Deposit at General Office	...	...
CAPITAL—		TOTAL		TOTAL	
As per last Account	15,506 2 0	TOTAL	...	15,506 2 0

VISVA-BHARATI.

EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

B-1, Santiniketan Trust Fund.

	Rs.	A. P.		Rs. A. P.
To Establishment	2,130 4 0	By Endowment and Trust Properties ...	...
" Light	810 11 6	" Local Income during Foush Utsab ...	...
" Guest Entertainment	169 4 3		
" Contingencies	83 13 0		
" Equipment	86 9 3		
" Repairs	297 2 6		
" Rent and Taxes	1 11 6		
" Poush Utsab	1,724 7 3		
" Excess of Income over Expenditure	184 10 9		
TOTAL	...	4,988 10 0	TOTAL	...
				4,988 10 0

C-4/28, President Fund.

To Expenditure ...	...	33,552 5 3	By balance	...	1,578 15 6
" Transfer to Fund Account ...	...	2,692 13 0	" Donation	...	34,666 2 9
TOTAL	...	36,245 2 3	TOTAL	...	36,245 2 3

PROCEEDINGS OF THE VARSHIKA PARISHAT, 1930.



The Varshika Parishat (Annual General Meeting) of the Visva-Bharati for the year 1930 was held at Santiniketan at 8 a.m., on Wednesday the 24th December, 1930.

Agenda.

1. Address by the Acharyya or other persons authorized by the Acharyya.
2. Annual Report and Audited Accounts.
3. Election of the Artha-Sachiva.
4. Election of the Karma-Sachiva.
5. Election of Members of the Samsad (Governing Body).
6. Appointment of Auditors.
7. Scheme for granting lease of land at Santiniketan to members of the Visva-Bharati.
8. Recommendations from the Samsad.
9. Confirmation of Rules.
10. Confirmation of Bye-laws.
11. Notified Resolutions, Amendments, if any.

Bijoy Bihari Mukherjee to move :—

“Resolved that a Committee of five members be appointed with Srijut Ramananda Chatterji as President to examine if any further steps can be taken to put before the public the work that is being done in the Visva-Bharati and secure help and co-operation for continuous progress of its aims and ideals.”

12. Interpellations, if any.
13. Appointment of Committee for confirmation of Proceedings.
14. Miscellaneous.

Present.

The following members of the Visva-Bharati were present:—

SURENDRANATH TAGORE, *Vice-President (in the Chair).*

Adhikari, (Miss) Asha.	Mukherjee, Bijoy Bihari.
„ Phanibhusan.	„ Provat Kumar.
Banerjee, Mohitkumar.	Ray, Nepal Chandra.
Bhattacharya, Vidhushekhar.	„ Saradindu Narain.
Bose, Debendramohan.	Santra, Kishorimohan.
„ Nandalal.	Sanyal, Hiran Kumar.
„ Santosh Bihari.	Sarkar, Sushobhan Chandra.
Chatterjee, Ramananda.	Sen, Amiya Kumar.
Chattopadhyaya, Jnanendranath.	„ (Miss) Hembala.
Ghosh, Gourgopal.	„ Kshitimohan
„ Jyotish Chandra.	„ (Mrs.) Kiranbala.
„ Promodaranjan.	„ Tajes Chandra.
Ganguly, Nalin Chandra.	Tagore, Dinendranath and others

Prasantachandra Mahalanobis (*Karma-Sachiva*).

Affirmation of Ideals.

1. The proceedings opened with the chanting of the following Vedic hymn:—

तमोश्चराणां परमं महेश्वरं
तं देवतानां परमञ्च दैवतम् ।
पतिं पतीनां परमं परस्तात्
विदाम देवं भुवनेशमीड्यम् ॥
न तस्य कार्यं करणञ्च विद्यते
न तत्समश्चाभ्यधिकश्च दृश्यते ।
परास्य शक्तिर्विविधेव श्रूयते
स्वाभाविकी ज्ञानबलक्रिया च ॥
न तस्य कश्चित् पतिरस्ति लोके
न चेशिता नैव च तस्य लिङ्गम् ।
सकारणं करणाधिपाधिपो
न चास्य कश्चिज्जनिता न वाधिपः ॥

एष देवो विश्वकर्मा महात्मा सदा जनानां हृदये सन्निविष्टः ।

हृदा मनीषा जनसामिहृतो यः पतद्विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्ति ॥

2. Surendranath Tagore, Vice-President, then proceeded with the Samkalpa-Vachana (Affirmation of Ideals) as follows:—

READER :

ओं स्वस्ति भवन्तोऽधिब्रुवन्तु ।

RESPONSE (by members) :

ओं स्वस्ति स्वस्ति स्वस्ति ॥

READER :

ओं ऋद्धिः भवन्तोऽधिब्रुवन्तु ।

RESPONSE :

ओं ऋध्यताम् ऋध्यताम् ऋध्यताम् ॥

READER :

अथेयं विश्वभारती ।

यत्र विश्वं भवत्येकनीडम् ॥

प्रयोजनम् अस्याः समासतो व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

एष नः प्रत्ययः—सत्यं होकम् ॥

पन्थाः पुनरस्य नैकः । विचित्रैरेव हि पथिभिः

पुरुषा नेकदेशवासिन एकां तीर्थमुपासर्पन्ति—

इति हि विज्ञायते ॥

प्राची च प्रतीची चेति द्वे धारे विद्यायाः ।

द्वाभ्यामप्येताभ्याम् उपलब्धयैक्यं सत्यस्याखिल-
लोकाश्रयभूतस्य—इति नः संकल्पः ॥

एतस्यैक्यस्य उपलब्धिः परमो लाभः परमा शान्तिः

परमं च कल्याणं पुरुषस्य

—इति हि वयं विजानीमः ॥

स्येयमुपासनीया नो विश्वभारती विविधदेशप्रथिताभि

र्विचित्रविद्याकुसुममालिकाभिरिति हि

प्राच्याश्च प्रतीच्याश्चेति सर्वेऽप्युपासकाः आदरमाह्वयन्ते ॥

तदिदमनुज्ञायताम्, तदिदमनुमन्यताम्,

तदिदमनुष्ठीयताम् ॥

RESPONSE :

इदमस्माभिरनुज्ञायते, इदमस्माभिरनुमन्यते,
इदं च वयमनुतिष्ठाम यावच्छुभ्यं यथाज्ञानं च ॥
तदिदं ऋध्यताम्, तदिदं समृध्यताम् ॥

Greetings to the Pratisthata-Acharyya.

3. Resolved that the members of the Visva-Bharati in Varshika Parishat assembled wish with all reverence Godspeed to the Pratisthata-Acharyya (Founder-President) during his present tour in the West and send him their respectful greetings.

(Proposed from the Chair and carried unanimously).

Annual Report.

4. Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Karma-Sachiva, placed before the Parishat the Annual Report for 1930, and the Audited Accounts for 1929-30 (printed copies of which were circulated among members present).

Resolved that the Annual Report for 1930 be adopted and published with such additions and alterations as may be considered necessary by a Committee consisting of Surendranath Tagore, Debendramohan Bose with Prasantachandra Mahalanobis as its Secretary.

Proposed by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH.

Seconded by—BIJOY BIHARI MUKHERJI. (Carried nem. con.).

Audited Accounts.

5. The Audited Accounts for 1929-30 were than taken into consideration.

Resolved that the Audited Accounts and the Balance Sheet for 1929-30 be adopted and published.

Proposed by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH.

Seconded by—BIJOY BIHARI MUKHERJI. (Carried nem. con.).

Election of the Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer).

6. The Chairman announced that Indu Bhushan Sen of Calcutta had been elected Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) of the Visva-Bharati for a term of three years—1931-1933.

Election of the Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary).

7. The Chairman announced that Rathindranath Tagore of Santiniketan had been elected Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) of the Visva-Bharati for a term of three years—1931-1933.

Temporary Arrangements.

8. In view of the fact that Rathindranath Tagore is out of India at present resolved further that Prasantachandra Mahalanobis do continue to act as Karma-Sachiva until he is relieved by Rathindranath Tagore.

Proposed by—NEPAL CHANDRA RAY.

Seconded by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH. (*Carried nem. Con.*)

Election of the Members of the Samsad.

9. The Chairman announced that the following persons had been elected members of the Samsad:—

- (a) Elected from among members resident in Benggal for 1931-32.
Debendramohan Bose, Amal Home, Surendranath Mallik, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, Kishorimohan Santra, Amiya Kumar Sen, Sushobhan Chandra Sarkar.
- (b) Elected from among members resident outside Bengal for 1931.
Atul Prosad Sen, Ambalal Sarabhai, M. R. Jaykar, Martin Bodmer.
- (c) Representatives from Santiniketan for 1931-32.
Surendranath Kar, Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Promodaranjan Ghosh, Nepal Chandra Ray.
- (d) Representative from Sriniketan for 1931-32.
Santosh Bihari Bose.

Appointment of Auditors.

10. Resolved that the best thanks of the Parishat be conveyed to Messrs. Ray & Ray, Chartered Accountants, for auditing the Visva-Bharati Accounts for 1929-30, and that Messrs. Ray & Ray be reappointed Auditors for the year 1930-31.

Proposed by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH.

Seconded by—PHANIBHUSAN ADHIKARI. (*Carried nem. con.*)

Land Settlement Scheme.

11. Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Karma-Sachiva, placed before the Parishat the draft scheme for granting lease of land at Santiniketan to life-members of the Visva-Bharati forwarded by the Samsad.

Resolved that the scheme for granting lease of land at Santiniketan to life-members of the Visva-Bharati be approved generally and the Samsad be authorized to take necessary action in the matter.

Proposed by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE.

Seconded by—PHANIBHUSAN ADHIKARI. (*Carried nem. con.*)

Rules and Byelaws.

12. Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Karma-Sachiva, placed before the

Parishat departmental Rules and Bye-laws as framed by the local Samitis and approved by the Samsad.

(Recorded).

Publicity Committee.

13. Bijoy Bihari Mukherji moved the resolution of which he had given notice under Regulation 8 (v). Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Karma-Schiva, stated that he had placed the resolution before the Samsad, which had fully approved of the above proposal, and had suggested that Bijoy Bihari Mukherji be requested to act as Secretary to the proposed Committee.

The resolution was seconded by Jyotish Chandra Ghosh.

Resolved that a Committee consisting of Ramananda Chatterjee (Chairman), Asha Adhikari, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, Amiya Chakravarti, Rathindranath Tagore, Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis with Bijoy Bihari Mukherji as its Secretary and with powers to co-opt members be appointed to examine if any further steps can be taken to put before the public the work that is being done in the Visva-Bharati and secure help and co-operation for continuous progress of its aims and ideals, and be requested to submit an early report to the Samsad.

Committee for Confirmation.

14. Resolved that in accordance with Regulation 8 (viii) a Committee consisting of Surendranath Tagore (Chairman), Debendramohan Bose, Hirankumar Sanyal, Amiya Kumar Sen, and Prasantachandra Mahalanobis (Karma-Sachiva) be appointed to draw up and authenticate the proceedings of the Varshika Parishat, 1930 for confirmation.

Proposed by—KISHORIMOHAN SANTRA.

Seconded by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH. (Carried nem. con.).

15. The proceedings terminated with the chanting of the Shanti-Vachana.

(Sd.) SURENDRANATH TAGORE (Chairman).

„ DEBENDRAMOHAN BOSE.

„ HIRAN KUMAR SANYAL.

„ AMIYA KUMAR SEN.

(Members, Confirmation Committee).

(Sd.) P. C. MAHALANOBIS,

Karma-Sachiva.

Confirmed in accordance with Regulation 8 Clause (viii) at a meeting of the Karma-Samiti (by circulation) on the 5th June, 1931.

(Sd.) P. C. MAHALANOBIS,

Karma-Sachiva

THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

Vol 8. 1931-32, Part IV.

✓ MESSAGE TO THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

By segregating ethics to the Kingdom of Heaven and depriving the Kingdom of Earth from its use man has up to now never seriously acknowledged the need of higher ideals in politics or in practical affairs. That is why when disagreements occur between individuals, violence is not encouraged but punished; but when the combatants are nations, barbaric methods are not only not condemned but glorified. The greatest of men like Buddha or Christ have from the dawn of human history stood for the ideal of non-violence, they have dared to love their enemies and defied tyrannism by peace, but we have not yet claimed the responsibility they have offered us.

Fight is necessary in this world, combat we must and relentlessly against the evils that threaten us, for by tolerating untruth we admit their claim to exist. But war on the human plane must be what in India we call—Dharma-Yuddha—moral warfare, in it we must array our spiritual powers against the cowardly violence of evils. This is the great ideal which Mahatma Gandhi represents, challenging his people to fearlessly apply man's highest strength not only in our individual dealings but in the clash of nation and nation.

In the barbaric age man's hunger did not impose any limits on its range of food which included even human flesh but with the evolution of society this has been banished from extreme possibility: in a like manner we await the time when nothing may supposedly justify the use of violence whatever consequences we are led to face. Because, success in a conflict may be terrible defeat from the human point of view, and

material gain is not worth the price we pay at spiritual cost. Much rather should we lose all than barter our soul for an evil victory. We honour Mahatma Gandhi because he has brought this ideal into the sphere of politics and under his lead India is proving everyday how aggressive power pitifully fails when human nature in its wakeful majesty bears insult and pain without retaliating. India to-day inspired by her great leader opens the new chapter of human history which has just begun.

1930.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

THE LOST HERMITAGE.

By REGINALD A. REYNOLDS.

In the Eternal Hills they dwell apart :
 They love the hearth, but come not in the home ;
 A banished race, the solitary wastes they roam,
 Seeking a kingdom in the human heart
 Where they in peace may come.

(In the whirl and the boom of the City their song is
 unheard :
 Shriek of advertisement, murmur of losses and gains,
 Groans of a body alive, whose soul is interred :
 What know they of song, who go up to the City in
 trains?)

Only in dreams awhile our souls are blest
 By their sweet sojourn : silent, they alight
 And in our rest, find rest.
 But when the shifting Earth shakes off the Night
 In clouds of care the soul's wan twilight dies,

And the returning day brings darkness to our eyes.
For we are lost beyond the hope of Peace,
And (born with mortgaged souls) we toil to pay
A grievous tribute for a barren lease.
And alien gods hold sway,
Enthroned with dismal splendour in the mind,
The tyrant-scourges of our age and kind.
And I, who wander in the ways of men,
And wonder much, and listen now and then
To voices older than the voice of Man,
Heard once the Voice of Prophecy, that cried
For hearing that our hearts of stone denied :

“On those who have eaten of knowledge the Gates of Eden
are closed :

Wiser than God, they forsake the Garden of Youth ;
In outer darkness they build, and unreposed,
Tombs for Beauty and Truth.

“But the smoke of Cities is dark on the hearts of men :
Grief and Death are enough : we may not abide
The weight of the sorrow of Earth in her anguish when
The bright green life has died.

“For the Gods of Beauty who pity the Children of Death
Made for us Memory out of the dust of dreams,
That lost Heavens might speak with woodland breath
And sing in a thousand streams ;

“And unto the Slaves of toil in the hour of sleep
Courage should come from the lips of the countless dead,
And Love should rise in white mist out of the deep
That we might be comforted.”

THE FIRST AND THE LAST PROPHETS OF PERSIA.

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

In the beginning of our history when individuals gathered together not as a crowd but as a community, they instinctively realized a mysterious source of power in this meeting. They felt that it was not a mere obvious fact represented by a number, but a truth that could not be measured, counted and analysed. It was an energising force that was creative, and according to the degree of perfection in the solidarity of such gathering, it spontaneously gave rise to a richness of social life, and the beauty and wisdom that found innumerable channels of expression.

This ineffable spirit of unity is the fundamental truth of creation. When in our scientific curiosity to probe the mystery of appearance we snap the bond of relationship, the appearance itself vanishes, and what remains is some abstract mathematical formulæ, invisible, intangible, unimaginable. At a certain stage of the analysis of things all that remains is named as protons and electrons, logically proving their unsubstantial existence, but not the existence of what appears in its wholeness as the rock, or flower, you or me. Some great mystery of unity binds these into individual form and character, and relates them to all things far and near; and such immensity of facts held together by an infinite spirit of unity, manifests its creative purpose in various forms and movements.

In the human world the great truth of unity was also at first realized as a power residing in the community, comprehending and transcending all individuals. This mysterious power according to the primitive people was magical, and they symbolized it in their totems and tried to invoke and propitiate it with their magical rites.

*Summary of a speech given at the New History Society, New York, on December 7, 1930.

This was the first great discovery of man—the mysterious spirit of unity which was beyond the bounds of quantity that can be measured, and this is religion. But as I have already suggested, religion in its first appearance had the aspect of power, which though it gave unity to the tribe itself, created a strong division outside of it. For power is exclusive and the tribe claimed its God as the source of all powers for its own benefit.

So long as God remained as thus divided, religion became cruel and terribly unjust creating more mischief in this world than any passion that is criminal. Even to-day when God is no longer believed to be specially belonging to the tribe, he is fenced in by sectarianism which gives rise to a fierce spirit of dissension and egotistical boastfulness. Truth when tortured and mutilated becomes more heinous than untruth, and therefore when unbelievers bring proofs of the harm that religion has done to man we cannot but remain silent.

It is the mission of all great prophets to see that religion which is to give us spiritual emancipation should not itself be made a fetter to immure our soul in a dungeon of dogma and formalism giving rise to sectarian vanity that obscures our vision of the spiritual unity of man.

The first Prophet whom we know in the history of man was Zoroaster who preached God as the universal truth of unity, the eternal source of goodness and love; and it is significant that in the same soil of Persia which gave birth to him arose the other great Prophet of the modern age, Baha'u'llah, who also preached God as profoundly one, in all races, tribes and sects, the true worship of whom consists in service that has reason for its guide, and goodness and love for its inner motive principle.

We are here to-night to offer our homage to Baha'u'llah. He is the latest Prophet to come out of Asia. His life is certainly a glorious record of unflinching human search after truth; and his message is of great importance for the progress of civilization.

ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION FROM HINDU LEGAL TEXTS

By RADHAKUMUD MUKHERJE.

The Smritis or Hindu legal literature furnish interesting sidelights on education in ancient India. The evidence is very fully presented in the *Digest of Hindu Law* prepared by Colebrooke on which the following account is mainly based.

The law books discuss the relations between the teacher and the pupil in connexion with the question : To what extent or under what circumstances those relations can become the subject-matter of suits or legal proceedings?

According to Nārada, 'when a man yields not the obedience he has promised, it is called a breach of promised obedience which is a title of law.' 'Persons bound to obedience are in law declared by the learned to be properly of four kinds, *viz.*, for science, secular knowledge, love or pay' (Barihaspati). Of these the first class is comprised by the pupils proper who seek the acquisition of knowledge or 'science *i.e.*, of the Vedas and the like, the second class by the apprentices or the technical students who seek the acquisition of skill in arts or human science' (Nārada).

'The wise have declared their general dependence' which means that they are not their own masters, but are themselves subject to masters. This may further mean that they are incapable of acquiring wealth for themselves as pupils, or are liable to punishment for violation of their master's commands.

Brihaspati describes the subjects of study of the pupil proper to be the triple science, Rik, Yajus and Sāma-Vedas. 'For these let him pay obedience to a spiritual teacher, as directed by the law.' This means that, as the commentator points out, 'he who yields it not may be reprov'd or chastised by the teacher, and the preceptor offends not.'

The infliction of punishment as a disciplinary measure on the pupil by his teacher is held to be perfectly legal. 'In case of strife between teacher and pupil. . . their mutual litigation is not legal.' The teacher's right to punish is emphasized

by Manu who also gives directions for its exercise by way of indicating its limiting conditions which it would be illegal for the teacher to transgress. 'A pupil when he commits faults may be corrected with a rope or the small shoot of a cane but on the back part only of his body, and not on any noble part by any means.' Says Gautama: 'The correction of a pupil for ignorance or incapacity should be given with a small rope or shoot of a cane; the teacher shall be punished by the king, if he strike with any other instrument.'

The law books contemplate the contrary possibility of the case of a pupil striking his preceptor. Such an offending pupil will, according to Yājñavalkya, have his punishment equal to that of the highest scale of crime.

The meaning of these regulations is very well explained by Vijñānesvara. According to one regulation cited above, all litigation between teacher and pupil is illegal. The fact of the matter is 'that a suit preferred before the king is irregular, and preferred by the teacher against his pupil, is forbidden. But if the pupil violate his duty and the teacher being weak is not able to correct him, it is consistent with common sense that he should then apply to the king; for, by violating his duty the pupil absolutely becomes *Páshanda* or irreligious.' Litigation with teachers is not laudable, either in moral or civil law; 'therefore pupils and others should, in the first instance, be discouraged by the king or the court. But in important cases, the suits of pupils may be entertained in the form mentioned.' Thus, in regard to punishment, 'If a teacher from an impulse of wrath, strike his pupil with a great staff on a noble part (of his body), then should the pupil, hurt in a manner contrary to law, complain to the king; there exists a subject of litigation.'

The duties of studentship are thus stated: 'until he acquire the science, let the student diligently obey his preceptor; his conduct should be the same towards the preceptor's wife and his son; afterwards, performing the stated ceremonies on his return home, and giving to his instructor the gratuity of a teacher, let him return to his own house. This conduct is prescribed to the pupil' (Nárada). Violation of

duties under these injunctions cannot be the subject-matter of litigation. The commentator has the following explanation : 'The suit of a teacher, if his gratuity be not paid, is not mentioned by any author ; but hell is the pupil's fate, if he pay not a gratuity to his instructor.' Obedience to the teacher implies the pupil's dependence on him, so that 'he should not go anywhere, nor consume anything, without his preceptor's orders ; and what he acquires by labour should be delivered to the teacher.' As Yājñavalkya puts the matter : 'when called let him study ; and deliver what is gained to his teacher.' The commentator takes this to be a moral ordinance. The pupil has the legal right to give away to any one he pleases either his paternal property or property acquired by him during his minority, though if it is given away without the knowledge or the consent of his teacher there will be a violation of his moral duties. 'The pupil must also perform other labour in his preceptor's house.' As Yājñavalkya puts it, 'let him constantly promote his teacher's benefit by every exertion of mind, speech, body and action.'

We shall now discuss the duties of technical students and the relations between apprentices and master-craftsmen.

In common with the pupils proper, the first duty of the technical student, like the general student, is to stay with his master in his house. He is thus described by Brihaspati : 'Arts, consisting of work in gold, husbandry and the like, and the art of dancing and the rest are called human sciences ; let him who studies these perform work in his teacher's house.' This indicates the technical subjects or crafts that were usually taught. According to the commentator, "in the expression 'gold, husbandry and the like' are comprehended work in wood, traffic and the rest. Dancing and like include singing and so forth." He also remarks that "skill in business which requires study but is different from sacred science is human knowledge."

There are rules regarding the admission of apprentices. In the first place the period of apprenticeship is to be mutually agreed to and legally fixed. In the second place, the kinsmen or the guardians of the proposed apprentice must consent to

the transaction and be parties to the agreement. Says Nārada : 'Let him who wishes to acquire his own art, with the assent of his kinsmen, reside near an instructor, fixing a well-ascertained period of apprenticeship.'

This passage further shows that the subject of his study was not the free choice of the apprentice. It was determined by the calling of his caste, 'his own art' or the art suitable to his class (*Vivādaratnākara*). Indian industry developed upon the basis of hereditary skill and craftsmanship.

The period of the apprenticeship is to be 'well ascertained' i.e., 'by the attestation of witnesses' (*Vivādaratnākara*).

The duties and obligations of the apprentice thus admitted, and of his master, are precisely defined and regulated. Says Nārada : "Let the teacher instruct him, giving him a maintenance in his own house; and not employ him in other work, but treat him as a son.' To this Kātyāyana adds : 'He who does not instruct his scholar in the art and causes him to perform other work shall incur the first amercement; and the pupil is therefore released.'

Thus the first duty of the master is to make his apprentice an *antevāsi*, a resident of his own house, and to allow him a maintenance, his own benefit being 'the performance of a duty, reputation gained and some profit,' as explained by the commentator.

Next, he must treat him as a member of his family with due tenderness and affection, 'as a son and not like a slave to be employed at pleasure.' The relationship between the two must be lifted on to the spiritual plane and must not be a mere commercial connexion.

Thirdly, the teacher must honestly and properly instruct his apprentice in the art. As the commentator points out, 'the teacher who having promised instructions, but either employing the scholar much on other work, or, acting from impulse of wrath, does not teach him the art, shall incur the first amercement; and the pupil may forsake him and go to another teacher.'

As is indicated in these texts and comments the fourth duty of the teacher is to offer his apprentice every facility in learn-

ing his craft by making him perform in his house and workshop only such work as is 'relative to the art to be learned by him (as the manufacture of golden vessels and the like in the house of an instructor who works in gold).' The teacher 'is forbidden to employ him in business inconsistent with instruction and occupying much time, such as travelling to many places, thatching a house, and the like.'

The teacher violating these rules is fined and the contract or relationship between him and his apprentice is cancelled.

Similarly, the apprentice has also his own duties and obligations which he cannot violate with impunity. In the words of the commentator, 'if the teacher instruct him to the best of his knowledge and do not employ him in other work, then the pupil forsaking his teacher and going to another shall be chastised.' Says Nārada : 'But he who deserts his teacher though instructing him and not culpable shall be compelled by forcible means to reside with him and is liable to stripes and confinement.' The manner of the corporeal punishment is to be laid down in the law *i.e.*, the teacher should not hurt a noble part of the body and should strike only with a 'small rope or shoot of a cane' as prescribed for the correction of the pupil proper*.

The cause of the chastisement may be ignorance or incapacity shown as well as unlawful desertion. Now this desertion may take place in two ways. The kinsmen whose consent to the apprenticeship is necessary may withdraw the boy before the expiry of its stipulated period, in which case 'a suit may be maintained', and the teacher is given the right to seek legal remedies. So long as the kinsmen do not withdraw the boy, he is liable to correction by the teacher according to prescribed methods. Where an apprentice having no kinsmen deserts his master unlawfully on his own account, the master has no other alternative than to seek legal remedies for the wrong done to him by his pupil's violation of contract.

*Who is similar to the apprentice in all respects except only in the motives of his study: 'the pupil studies the Veda on account of duty; the apprentice learns an art for the sake of wealth'.

The other obligations of apprenticeship are thus stated in the legal texts : 'Though he have learned his art, the apprentice must fulfil his stipulated time : and the profit of his labour during that period shall belong to his teacher.' (Nārada). Again : 'though he had acquired his art, the apprentice must reside in his master's house during the period stipulated, receiving his subsistence from the teacher, and giving him the fruit of his art' (Yājñavalkya).

These texts have been differently interpreted. According to some, the meaning is that if, through an aptitude to learn, the pupil become perfectly instructed in his art before the expiration of his apprenticeship 'he shall nevertheless serve his master the full time' and during that time 'the teacher has ownership even in what the pupil acquires by voluntary exertion in traffic and the like, independent of his art, and by agriculture or some other means, and by treasure-trove or other accident.' But others allege, as a custom, that, the fruit of what is done through the means of the teacher (in consequence of instructions) belongs to him : but in the case of treasure-trove and the like the find is taken by the pupil. According to Jimutavāhana, the pupil has in every instance a right to retain what is acquired by himself.

When the apprenticeship terminates according to the terms of its indenture, the apprentice is to pay to his master as much as he can as a reward of his services and takes his permission to return home. The term of apprenticeship is however renewable if the pupil finds at the expiry of the first term that his training is not quite complete. We have on this point the text of Nārada : 'at the expiry of the period the apprentice, having acquired his art, and formally delivering to the teacher the best reward in his power departs with his permission.'

The above rules bring out several important and interesting features. In the first place, there was the system of indenture under which the apprentice and the master were bound to each other for a fixed period stated in the deed. As Vīramitrodaya points out, the teacher must make an agreement in this form, 'let this apprentice stay with me so and so long.' In the second place, the indenture emphasizes equally and fairly the obligations

of both the master and the apprentice. As regards the obligations of the master, he had to adopt the apprentice as his own son and treat and feed him as such. He should teach him whole-heartedly and honestly. The master was competent to make him do the work strictly related to the craft he was learning, but not competent to exploit his labour or skill by employing it for purposes unconnected with it. While making him work thus, he should not treat the apprentice as a hired labourer, but like a son, with due tenderness and affection. Equally strict were the obligations under which the apprentice was bound to his master. If through the master's efficient training he attains proficiency in the craft before the expiry of the period stipulated for in the indenture, he was not competent to leave the master, but had to serve his full term, cheerfully yielding to him the fruits of his labour as the reward or compensation for the saving of time effected by the superior skill of the master in teaching. Yājñavalkya (11.187) states the same condition thus : 'even if the apprentice has learnt the art (within the prescribed time) he must live in the house of his master for the full period of contract. The student desirous of learning an art, who has received his board from the teacher, must make over to the latter the fruits of his labour (during the period of his pupilage).' Thus, Yājñavalkya justifies the master's appropriation of the results of all work done by his pupil during his apprenticeship as a sort of compensation for the expenses he incurs in giving him free board, lodging and tuition. The master was also empowered to compel the return of a runaway apprentice, whom he could flog or confine for his disobedience, provided such disobedience or desertion was not by way of protest against any moral sin or heinous crime committed by the master. This is no doubt a characteristically Hindu provision securing the moral purity of craftsmen to which modern industrial legislation is hardly sufficiently attentive. There is again another provision for the payment by the master to the pupil of a salary adequate to his proficiency if he desired to retain his services, in which case the first claim upon his services belongs to his master. Lastly, the pupil is recommended to be always humble before his master in the following quaint exhortation : 'for science is

like a river, ever advancing to a humbler level; therefore, as one's knowledge grows broader and deeper, one should become ever more humble towards the source of one's knowledge' (Nārada V. 12).

This exhortation is indeed symbolical and characteristic of the sacred and spiritual relations† that normally obtained between the master-craftsman and his apprentices—relations which were the direct outcome of the peculiar educational system and environment under which they worked. To these wholesome relations, and especially to the superior educational efficacy of the system which produced them is to be traced the signal success which is admitted on all hands to have been achieved by the handicraftsmen of ancient and medieval India, and which so largely enabled her to command, for much more than a thousand years (from Pliny to Tavernier), the markets of the East as well as the West, and secured to her an easy and universally recognised pre-eminence among the nations of the world in exports and manufactures.

We are, however, more concerned with the system than its success, with the methods of training than their results, the character of the educational machinery and organization than the record of its magnificent output. The essence of the whole scheme or system, the fundamental feature on which it rests, is that the young craftsman is brought up and educated in the actual workshop of his master whose disciple he is, although the master may sometimes be even his father. This means that the pupil stands in a peculiar relation to his master, a sacred relation of devoted personal service and attachment in which alone can the learner best imbibe and most naturally and spontaneously assimilate the special excellences of his teacher, his true inward method, nay, even his trade secrets which can no longer be hidden from one whom he has adopted as his son. The very

†Cf. Mahavagga I. 32, I:

'The *achariya*, *bhikkhus*, ought to consider the *antevasika* as a son; the *antevasika* ought to consider the *achariya* as a father. Thus these two, united by mutual reverence, confidence and communion of life, will progress, advance, and reach a high stage in this doctrine and discipline.'

'I prescribe, O *bhikkhus*, that you live (the first) ten years in dependence on an *achariya*.....'

intimacy and depth of the personal relationship between the teacher and the taught solves substantially many difficulties of the educational process, which is impossible in the case of the busy teacher of a modern technical school where he is concerned with his students for a few hours in the week, and has no opportunity of associating them with his main business in which he is called upon to show his real worth and exercise his best talent. And this brings us to the other aspect of our indigenous organization, *viz.*, training in the actual workshop where the training is acquired from the very beginning and in relation to actual difficulties and problems, and primarily by service, and by personal assistance of the master. And it is not only the technique that is learnt, but something more valuable : there is life in the workshop besides mere plant and tools, for the workshop is part of a home, which places the pupil in touch with life and its difficulties, human relationships, culture and religion, and whereby his heart is trained as much as his hand*.

We have in the legal literature an interesting discussion regarding property which is not subject to partition. An example of such property is 'wealth acquired by learning' as stated by Manu. Other law-givers describe the various means by which wealth can be acquired by learning, and the description gives us important features in the cultural life of the times.

The following texts of Kátyáyana will speak for themselves :—

(1) 'What has been acquired by learning, after instructions received from a stranger, and a maintenance provided by one of a different family, is called wealth gained by learning.'

(2) 'What is gained by proving superior learning, after a prize has been offered by some third person, must be considered as the acquisition of a scholar, and ought not in general to be divided among co-heirs.'

(3) 'So what has been received as a gift from a pupil, as a gratuity for the performance of a sacrifice, as a fee answering a question in casuistry or for ascertaining a doubtful point of law ; or what has been gained as a reward for displaying know-

*Some of the excellences of this domestic education are very well brought out by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his *Indian Craftsman*.

ledge or for victory in a learned contest or for reading the Veda with transcendent ability.'

(4) 'Such wealth have the sages declared to be the acquisition of science, and not subject to distribution : and the law is the same in regard to liberal or elegant arts, and to increase of price from superior skill in them.'

(5) 'A prize which has been offered for the display of superior learning and a gift received from a votary for whom a sacrifice was formerly performed, or a present from a pupil formerly instructed, sages have declared to be the acquisition of science : what is otherwise acquired is the joint property of the co-heirs.'

(6) 'Even what is won by surpassing another in learning, after a stake has been deposited, Brihaspati pronounces the acquisition of knowledge and impartible.'

(7) 'What is obtained by the test of learning, what is received from a pupil or for the performance of a sacrifice, Bhṛigu calls the acquisition of science.'

(8) 'Yet, Brihaspati has ordained that that wealth shall be partible if it was gained by learned brothers who were instructed in the family by their father, or by their paternal grand-father or uncles.'

In case of increment to paternal wealth, the acquirer gets a double share according to the following text of Vasishtha.

(9) 'He among the brothers who singly acquires wealth shall take a double share of it.'

Nārada mentions a distinction in the case of Vidyādhana (gains of learning) of a certain kind.

(10) 'He who, be he ever so ignorant, maintains the family of a brother while engaged in study, will share the wealth which that brother may gain by his learning.'

Thus these texts point to a variety of institutions through which the spread of learning and culture was promoted.

In (1) we have a reference to the normal method of imparting instruction to a pupil who left his parental home and lived with his chosen preceptor who gave him free board, lodging and tuition. But though usual and ordinary, this particular mode of the acquisition of learning in which the pupil is not supported during the period of his tuition by his paternal pro-

perty has, as shown in the text, important legal consequences to the material gains which he may subsequently realize from his learning.

In (8) is indicated the parallel practice of giving to boys education in their own houses, the preceptor being their father, grandfather or uncle. The special proficiency shown by a particular son with the necessarily superior earning power it gives to him, is duly recognized by law, as shown in (9).

In (10) we have a reference to the third variety in the methods of educational organization. Here a preceptor would not admit a pupil for his inability to maintain him and yet is regarded as indispensable for his education. The pupil was allowed to bring his own means of maintenance with him and become a paying member of his preceptor's family.

Nārada's text pictures to us a dutiful brother, himself devoid of learning, anxious for the learning of a more promising brother whom he supports at school by his own self-sacrifice which is duly recognised and rewarded in law.

In (3) and (5) is indicated the time-honoured Hindu institution of paying voluntary fees to the preceptor for all the pains and expenses he undergoes in educating his pupil. In fact, the usual source of the preceptor's property and maintenance is the present of his pupils whether just discharged from their studentship or formerly instructed. In the case of the latter we have another proof of the abiding cordiality of the relations between the teacher and the taught which are cultivated with so much care under so many regulations during the period of tuition and are expected to continue beyond it and indeed lasted through life.

Besides the school for the young or the pupils proper, we have in other texts references to institutions of a higher type meant for the advancement of learning of and by the elderly and mature scholars through the opportunities they afforded for varied and vital academic intercourse. The friction of mind against mind is necessary for sharpening its powers and strengthening the grasp of truth which must otherwise remain only as a matter of one's subjective realization. The mastery of truth has to be proved by objective standards and

established against external criticism. It is on this sound principle of pedagogics that the Nyáya Philosophy has laid down *Suhritprápti* as one of the aids to the acquisition of knowledge. Truth must triumph over all attacks. Hence the remarkable development in all ages of Indian culture-history of these characteristically Hindu institutions of academic gatherings for the purpose of holding intellectual tournaments, those Philosophical Conferences, and Science Congresses which were known to India as early as 1000 B.C. as shown by the evidence of the Bráhmanas and Upanisads.

In the texts (2)—(6) are indicated various types of learned debates and dialectical contests with the different forms of recognition given to intellectual primacy.

In (2), the intellectual contest or examination is held, and the superiority of learning is to be proved, in the field of *Upanyása* which is 'explained in the *Madanaratna* to be the recitation of the Vedas in the several modes of stringing together the different *padas* or words such as *Krama*, *Jatá*, etc. Others say it means the exposition of abstruse topics in an assembly' (*Vyávahára-Mayukha*). The prize of victory offered is in accordance with established tradition and approved precedent and practice as shown in *Satapatha Bráhmaṇa*.

In (3) there is a reference to various kinds of intellectual competition and competence. The principal sources of the preceptor's property are indicated. They are the presents of pupils and the fees for performing sacrifices paid by a votary. Thus, the two usual occupations of a learned Bráhmaṇa were teaching and priest-craft. Next, there is a reference to controversial social questions (*Prasna*) in the solution of which learned men found opportunities of proving their merit and honourably earning money. According to the *Smṛiti-Chandriká*, the *Prasna* as a source of the gain of learning is that relating to the determination of the suitable atonement or *práyaschitta* for the minor sins (*Upapátaka*). This indicates the specialization of some learned men in social legislation. Thirdly, there is a reference to the settlement of doubts of a person regarding the meaning of a particular ordinance and deciding a question of law between two contending parties

who apply for an award (*Mitákshará*). Thus some learned men specialized in law, served on the *parishads* and found ample means of livelihood from a legal career either from arbitration or giving consultations and opinions (like the 'chamber practice' of lawyers) in modern times.

Sometimes again, a young scholar would have his learning and ability recognized by others, and so would be selected for gifts and other kinds of patronage by the wealthy acting on the public opinion about him. Sometimes victory in a *Váda*, defined as a 'contest relative to sacred literature, or any other learned controversy' would be amply rewarded. There is again a reference to cases where something is proposed to be given away for which there are many deserving competitors. In such cases *Prádhyayanam*, i.e., ability in reciting the Veda would be adopted as the standard for determining superiority of learning. Some take *Prádhyayanam* to be not superior recitation of the Veda but 'excellent lecture in it, such as the recital of one *sákhá* (branch) of the Veda in one day'. It may also mean recital of the Puránas and the like. As regards intellectual contests, the commentators draw attention to the fact that sometimes a prize may be previously announced for victory or 'display of superior learning'; or sometimes, though no such prize may be offered, the victor may win his due reward from a rich man in the assembly moved to make a gift by 'the satisfaction afforded to him by overcoming an adversary in disputation.' Spontaneous literary patronage must have been of very usual occurrence in the academic life of the country when they have been noticed in the law books as constituting a source of income to the learned men. Wealth could always be depended upon to come forward in support of learning. Again, 'a fee for answering a question in casuistry (*Prasna*)' is sometimes explained as a reward received on account of the gratification afforded by the solution of a question. For instance, 'a man possessing immense knowledge attends a great monarch and discusses a question proposed by him; though he does not gain the victory (for even in controversy a conqueror of worlds in invincible), yet, spreading lustre over the assembly, he receives a reward from the monarch'. Regarding *Prádhyaya-*

yanam, some commentators take objection to its meaning as merely 'reading the Veda with transcendent ability.' Their view is that 'the wages of mere transcribers and generally the fee received from the audience for reading the Veda, Puráṇas and the like, without transcendent skill in poetry, and in explaining the sense of poems: this and other similar gains, according to Chandessvara and the rest, are not the acquisition of science. In fact in all cases whatsoever wherein superior skill is required the wealth gained is technically denominated the acquisition of science. Otherwise it is simply wealth acquired by the man himself.' The fees from *Prádhyayanam* (whatever may be the right meaning of the term) regarded as a source of income to the learned point without doubt to that remarkable agency of popular education under which readings in the Vedas, Puranas and other sacred literature were organized by means of circles of competent scholars who specialized in giving such readings before the larger assemblies of the common people.

In (4) we see how property in the special gains derived from superior technical skill (such as that of painters, goldsmiths and the like, and even of gaming) is governed by the same laws as those applying in the sphere of liberal learning.

Along with the *vidyádhana* or gains of learning as acquired in the various ways explained above, the necessary implements or appliances of learning or of arts are also to be deemed impartible, *e.g.*, 'books and the like in the study of the Vedas', etc., or 'pencils and tools' for the study of the fine arts. Books are, 'not to be shared by ignorant brethren. So what is adapted to the arts belongs to the artists, not to persons ignorant of the particular art.'

The relationship of a teacher, a pupil or a priest has been given a distinct legal value in Hindu Law. According to Baudháyana, on failure of all heirs claiming any sort of blood relationship, 'the spiritual preceptor, the pupil or the priest engaged to perform sacrifices shall take the inheritance. The *Acharya*, spiritual preceptor, is defined by Baudháyana as 'he who girds the pupil with sacrificial cord and instructs him in the Vedas.' On failure of these heirs, the succession passes on to the fellow-student 'who studies the Veda under the same

teacher.' According to the law as laid down by Gautama, the legal heirs may also include 'persons allied by funeral oblations, family name and by patriarchal descent,' but commentators differ as to whether this remote relationship in blood has precedence over the relationship in learning. At any rate it must be observed that the law accords a lower status to the spiritual relationship through learning than that given to it by the rules relating to *Brahmacharya* under which the preceptor is to be regarded as the equal of the pupil's parents as regards the reverence and obedience due from him. This equality was emphasized in a much earlier age when we find its recognition in a *Sutra* of Pánini relating to the relationship of blood and learning—*Vidyáyonisambandha*—to which is to be applied the same grammatical suffix.

The institution of the young pupil leaving his home and parents to live with his preceptor for education had its own legal consequences which are duly provided for. For it may so often happen that during this period of the pupil's tuition, 'wealth may descend to him by inheritance and become his property.' In such a case Manu thus lays down the law: 'The king should guard the property which descends to an infant by inheritance until he returns from the house of his preceptor.'

The law relating to the inheritance of the property of anchorites and devotees furnishes interesting information. According to Yájñavalkya (II. 137) the heirs who take the wealth of a *Vánaprastha* (a hermit), of a *Yati* (an ascetic), and a *Brahmachári* (life-student) are in their order the preceptor, the virtuous pupil (*Satsishya*), and one who is a supposed brother and belongs to the same order (*Dharmabhrátá* and *Ekatirthi*). Here we have a reference to typical Hindu institutions. The term *Brahmachári* points to the institution of perpetual studentship. The pupil who adopts this vow (of continuing as a student through life without marrying and entering upon the householder's state) is technically known as *Naishtika*, the temporary student being called *Upákurvána*. Next we have the term *Dharmabhrátá*, the spiritual brother, the brother by religious duties. The term *Ekatirthi* means

one resident in the same holy place, *i.e.*, the same hermitage and hence pupils of the same preceptor (Víramitrodaya). The *Satsishya*, virtuous pupil, is 'he who is versed in the study of revelation concerning the supreme soul and in preserving that sacred science'. Such a man is the most suitable for inheriting the effects of one whose teachings and practices and way of life would have a chance of surviving him through the successor. The wealth of the deceased is best utilised when it is consecrated to the ideals and purposes for which he lived and worked.

THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL FORCE.

By DHURJATI PRASAD MUKHERJEE.

The love of explanation is an attribute common to human beings. The scientist, however, excludes the first and final causes, while the non-scientific, *i.e.*, the primitive and the religious mind, seeks to explain in terms of the ultimate cause. Sociology, being a discipline of recent growth, has not yet abjured its animism. It has not yet been fully informed by the scientific spirit, with the result, that in sociological laws, the predicate is very often implied in the subject, that no causal relationship is either stated or implied in the sociological explanation, and that the explanation of social phenomena does not lead to new avenues of thought and experience. When sociological explanation is not animistic, it becomes tautological.

Thus social phenomena have been sought to be explained in terms of 'social forces' like interests, ideas, sentiments, attitudes, desires, wishes, behaviour-patterns, etc. They are meant to be the termini of the series of causes, the 'first causes' in fact. These ultimate explanations often produce ecstasy in the minds of sociologists. If there is an earthquake, the tortoise supporting the Hindu universe moves; if there is lightning, the spirit of storm is angry; if men behave in a particular way, they are directed by forces which are manifested in that way, in other words, as one of Moliere's characters said "Opium makes a man sleepy because it has a sleeping power."

When our love of explanation, the habit of mind that must needs comprehend the Universe in one scheme, gets the upper hand of common sense we seek to discover some final cause from which the objects studied must follow under logical compulsion. In our vanity, we seek to know the why, before completing our knowledge of the how, of social experience. To make one particular factor of experience the independent variable and all other factors functions thereof (as materialistic interpreters of history are prone to do with reference to the economic nexus) is as much a sign of the metaphysical mind as that to be noticed in the Hindu

Puranas. The defect of such a method is that any other alternative factor, for example, religion, may be legitimately set up as the independent variable, with the economic and other factors as its dependent functions. Thus in metaphysical sociology social forces fight between themselves and cancel one another like primitive gods.

Fortunately, or unfortunately, Physics happens to be at present the most well developed body of knowledge in the world of science. Therefore, the sociologist of the twentieth century, who finds the working hypotheses of an earlier period to be unworkable, wants to model his system on that of Physics. Now the concept of force was one of the capital concepts of Physics in the latter half of the nineteenth and the first few years of the twentieth centuries, and the concept of social force was originally borrowed from Physics. But in recent times force has ceased to be a fundamental concept in theoretical Physics. Physicists no longer believe that the sun 'moves' the earth or one particle 'moves' another or a magnet 'moves' the needle. That they still use the old language in their ordinary talk is merely for convenience. Now that old concepts of natural sciences are being gradually replaced by apparently more complex but intrinsically simpler and more comprehensive relations, it is futile to continue the use of the idea of social force in Sociology.

I do not suggest of course that Sociology will or can assimilate the new technical concept of the natural sciences. The superficial analogies with laws of Physics, given by Solvay's disciples or Winiarsky, by Bechtreff or Carver disfigure and misinterpret not only the social phenomena but the laws of Physics, Mechanics, Energetics and Logic as well. The so-called laws of social energetics "transgress the basic logical law of the necessity for adequacy in a logical subject and a logical predicate in a logical judgment." Sorokin says: "A number of the representatives of the school, the Mechanistic School, insist on a quantitative study of social phenomena, but not one of them had produced a single quantitative formula or given a co-efficient of correlation between two or more social processes. It is true that they copied and put into their articles several formulas of physical mechanics, but alas, they themselves do not know how

to apply them, nor how to use them in regard to social facts. Since no unit for the measurement of 'social forces' has been found as yet, all these formulas are to be regarded as a mere exercise in the copying of mechanical formulas, nothing more." Thus, on the whole, the borrowing of terms is dangerous to all parties. It confuses that which gives and that which takes. The sociologist has not yet collected a sufficient number of facts which are amenable to physico-mathematical treatment. The behaviour of individuals in their social actions and reactions does not appear to lend itself to measurements in the same way as physical events. Yet, and this is my point, the courage shown by physicists in eliminating such inadequate concepts as force, attraction, etc., should give a definite lead to the sociologist in the matter of sociological explanation.

It is not that the harmfulness of borrowing terms and ideas from natural sciences has not been perceived by sociologists. They have tried to rob social force of its mystery by calling it a tendency that is observable in and through events as they unfold. The objective study of tendencies and institutions have given a concrete basis to Sociology. It has led to the discovery of antecedent and conditioning relations, and even regular successions implying the existence of a known or unknown casual sequence. In other words, it has succeeded in establishing empirical laws. Yet, in the ultimate analysis, the interpretation of social phenomena by tendencies is as mystical as anything else in so far as such an interpretation regards history as the unfolding of a pre-determined idea.

The love of systematising for its own sake, the undue emphasis on classification in order to understand the significance of events, the habit of rationalising the unconscious bias of the sociologist himself, all conspire to transform a particular order and succession of events into a stratified 'tendency.' This order is of course temporal. And as temporal sequence is commonly supposed to be compelling, it usually happens that when a chronological sequence can be noted or established, the order of events suddenly acquires momentum. Any event that does not fall in line with the sequence is either dismissed as due to faulty observation or as an exception. An unrelated event is a pariah, an

untouchable to the classificatory habit of mind. When an exceptional fact does not prove the rule, it becomes immoral. The Sociologist, like an orthodox Brahmin, confines himself within the pale of related events, where the prediscovers order dictates succession, affords explanation, and indicates progression. The greater the number of events and the greater the temporal extension, the greater is the chance of identifying a mere succession with a law of inner development, an unfolding of hidden forces. For, when the number of events increase and succession extends, probability hardens into certitude, a generalisation becomes a tendency and a tendency ascends the pedestal of the mysterious 'social force' that must be obeyed. So we see that it is the same mental operation as that of the primitive who shakes in fear of the bull-roarer. Is there any fundamental difference between the concept of 'social force' and that of 'social tendency?' The same anthropomorphism and the same love of mystery are equally operative in both cases. Some starting point is of course necessary for study, but to confuse the perception of ordering with a force and the only force that starts the whole operation is sheer nonsense.

The study of institutions may sometimes be strictly scientific in character, but unfortunately, its conclusions are often not so. Here, the first step is to collect and collate facts. But facts are never considered as ends, especially, facts about the behaviour of human beings. Men (including sociologists) are intensely influenced by their own prejudices. A certain sociologist observes marriage customs among primitive tribes. If he is humble, he may select only one tribe and limit his observations to one trait, say, chastity or jealousy or incest, and reach certain conclusions which are true for that particular tribe. But usually the field worker himself, or some other sociologist, is ambitious and uses these particular results to draw inferences regarding modern civilized society. The application need not be deliberate, still the incessant talk about the virtues, say of monogamy or of incest tabus, as based on the 'scientific study' of the present day marriage institutions from primitive conditions, goes on unabated and ponderous volumes on ideal family life are written in which polygamy is praised or condemned and

incest declared natural or unnatural and therefore moral or immoral and criminal according to the personal predilections of the author. Psycho-analysts take shelter under these conclusions, and, in the name of the collective unconscious, moralise the individual by resolving his complexes and releasing his repressions and making him know that he is normal, *i.e.*, the heir-apparent to the primitive in a line of continuous succession and spiritual benefit.

Factually, historical studies are of high importance, but to deduce a concept of social force therefrom and then describe the history over again as a manifestation of the social force is to put a double value on a single act. In fact, between the concepts of social force and social tendencies there is as much to choose as between a transcendental God and an immanent One. Each satisfies a mood, a necessity at a particular stage of enquiry. But a sociologist must rise above his moods and realise that all stages are important. The same negation of self, as is prescribed by the true mystic for the devotee, is the only cure for the sociologist. The self of the sociologist assumes Protean shapes : ethical, religious, historical, evolutionary, pseudo-scientific and classificatory or methodological. One should be very wary.

So far from the point of view of the sociological method as generally adopted by sociologists. But it is not impossible that the method of study is all wrong, and yet there exists a social force or a social tendency. Judging from the persistence of a particular trait, the amount of resistance and opposition an individual has to overcome if he wants to modify it to suit his convenience, and the tremendous work it can do in the matter of cohesion and impulsion, it may appear sensible to consider it as a force or source of crude energy and the social process as its expenditure or conversion into useful energy (Ward or Ostwald). Thus for all practical purposes, religion or public opinion are social forces. Once social force is understood in this sense, it is pertinent to ask the following questions. What is the meaning of the term 'persistence'? Is there anything like an organic memory of events? If so, does it act as the co-ordinating, directive principle of the kaleidoscopic patterns of behaviour? Is there any unifying active principle in the diversity of

behaviour? Or, is this persistence, this unity, this capacity for doing work or evoking resistance that the sociologist discovers in any social force only a corollary to the notorious misconception of Time as a string of causalities, as a necessity that compels succession?

We have already objected to the borrowing of terms from natural sciences, but we have also mentioned that the modern developments of Physics can give Sociology a lead in seeking a more adequate and comprehensive co-ordination of events in terms of the simpler relations involved in the fact of movement and persistence. The courage of the physicist in rejecting older hypotheses is worthy of emulation. Besides, as we shall see, the true point of view in the psychological approach to human behaviour is psycho-somatic; and, therefore, the physico-chemical reactions of the human body, acting in and through natural environments, compel us to take account of modern explanations of physical phenomena. This, it must be admitted, is not a mere exercise in copying the latest formulae of physics. In any case, the answers to the questions framed in the above paragraph depend upon the progress of modern scientific knowledge. Later on, we shall note how far even these explanations fail to account for all the ramifications of human behaviour. For, as the eminent chemist Ostwald says, "Energetics can give to social sciences several fundamental principles, but it cannot give all the principles needed by social sciences." Amending the above statement, we can say that modern Physics can give to Social Sciences several fundamental concepts of relations, but certainly not all the relations that they deal with.

So far as I have been able to understand Bertrand Russell's account and criticism of the logic of physical explanation, there is no such thing as persistence of a core apart from the movements of events in succession, *i.e.*, 'from next to next.' One could discover a law of succession, no doubt. But there is no mysterious quality about this law. In fact, it is nothing more or less than a fact of relationship which does lead and offer clues to the calculation and prediction of succeeding events. If we notice what was called a causal unity in a group of events, it is really this association of events, the close connection between

which is a matter of succession in space and time. Generalising from a number of such successions one could come to a law of development, which is neither a compelling agency acting from behind the scenes at some distance, nor a correlating factor that relates events distant in space and time. The only type of unity that the modern scientist can conceive is better expressed in Russell's own words : "This is the sort of picture we must have in our minds when we try to conceive the physical world. We must think of a string of events, connected together by some causal connexions, and having enough unity to deserve a single name. We then begin to imagine that the single name denotes a single 'thing,' and if the events concerned are not all in the same place, we say that the 'thing' has 'moved.' But this is only a convenient shorthand. In the cinema we seem to see a man falling off a sky-scraper, catching hold of telegraph-wires, and reaching the ground none the worse. We know that, in fact, there are a number of different photographs, and the appearance of a single 'thing' moving is deceptive. In this respect, the real world resembles the "cinema." This is the twentieth century version of 'All the world's a stage.' Therefore, it can be assumed that the notion of force is rejected by the theoretical physicist from his explanation of succession or persistence. "When it is said, as it often is, that 'force' belongs to the world of experience, we must be careful to understand what can be meant. In the first place, it may be meant that calculations which employ the notion of force work out right in practice. This, broadly speaking, is admitted; no one would suggest that the engineer should alter his methods, or should give up working out stresses and strains—the engineer is concerned with the question whether his bridge will stand; the fact of experience is that it stands (or does not stand), and the stresses and strains are only a way of explaining what sort of bridge will stand."

This long quotation is full of lessons for the sociologist. It breathes courage to substitute new concepts for old, even though they be tentative. When the sociologist conquers his inertia to adopt a similar attitude of mind (not merely to borrow terms or copy the formulae), he will not be expected to cease working out,

as a social engineer, the operations known as social stresses and strains. Only he will not believe in their reality as such.

In fact a division of the subject into Theoretical and Applied or practical Sociology is eminently desirable. The pity of the present situation is that the social engineer is either ignorant of new ideas or dismisses them as novel and therefore impracticable. If an electric engineer were to remain in that condition by ignoring or condemning recent knowledge about the nature of electric phenomena he would be disqualified from undertaking capital constructions. But human affairs are not less important than engineering works, and yet even the theoretical sociologists are still clinging to the nineteenth century notions of social forces as something real. The result has been disastrous to human welfare. The amount of false propaganda that people in power start, and the applied sociologists maintain, to consolidate their own position is an instance of the social engineer's blind faith in the reality of social forces. Patriotism is a force, politicians operate the force to make citizens kill one another, and the sociologist writes tomes on the role of conflict in an objective manner. Religion is a force, the priests manipulate it for preaching communal hatred, and the sociologist writes voluminous treatises on religion as a conditioning factor in group-life. Public opinion is another force, the press-capitalists exploit it for their own purposes, and the sociologist writes on the influence of public opinion on social changes. I feel confident that if the social propagandists had received less support from the sociologist, the vigour of war-enthusiasm, and of communal or class-hatred would have abated to a considerable extent. It is the task of the theoretical sociologist to destroy the prestige of ideologies by a careful analysis of facts. If he fails to do so, he betrays the cause of intellect.

There is one point, however, in Russell's exposition which a theoretical sociologist cannot accept without further consideration. I mean the cinematic point of view. Of course, if there is no way out of it, as Watson's sociologist-disciple may say, no sacrifice is too great for science, not even the faith in some unity towards which the diversity of phenomena studied in science is considered by many to tend to gravitate. Mechanical analogy

is inadequate, but the fear of being called mechanical is a childish fear. Yet childish fear is a feeling to which all are susceptible. Hence it is that the modern sociologist is seeking affiliations to Psychology, the science of Human Behaviour. It is just possible that the new move is prompted by a perception of the difference between a physical and a psychological event, a genuine desire to appreciate the complexity of human motives and an appreciation of the difficulties in measuring them in physical units. It may be that he has empirically come to realise the difference between psychological unity and a mere unity of succession (as in Russell's explanation) which is only a fiction. It is also likely that he has been influenced by the theories of the Gestalt-School, by Semon's theory of engrams in Biology or by the concept of organic memory and in a hurry to avoid being called mechanical he has accepted the idea of a persistent psychological unity, or what comes to the same thing has accepted a group of subjective drives (like instincts, impulses, ideas, emotions, residues, interests, needs, wishes, libido and the like) operating like force in Physics, but under different names.

The above are some of the reasons for the change in the angle of vision noticed among modern sociologists. The fact is that sociologists had already begun to borrow terms and ideas from Psychology since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As soon as they began to analyse the relations of human beings in detail, they found out that social forces, if their operations are to be understood at all, had to be referred to the individual. Here, however, was a difficulty. The age was in the grip of theories of evolution and thinkers vied with one another in applying the so-called laws of evolution in all possible domains of knowledge, and in the minutest details. Physics was displaced by Biology. Society was compared to an organism, and the individual was studied in relation to the society of which he formed a part. The fact of interdependence implied in the idea of organism itself led to important results in theoretical and applied sciences. The body of the individual (and naturally the mind, another organic unity, by analogy, if not by objective study) was at first considered to be merely a function of the physical and psychological environment, of all that is implied by the

term society. But with the accumulation of new facts and by a stricter analysis, it was found out that the body, and the mind as well is like the *karta* of the Hindu joint-family, a trustee of the cell-properties which are handed down from generation to generation. The environment became less important. Lamarckianism became out of date, Weissman came into his own. The sociologist turned his attention from his geographical studies, the associationist psychologist to the study of race or of the 'vital impulse'.

It was at this juncture that the cult of racial superiority was started and terms from Psychology began to be borrowed. For obvious reasons the terms were those of Vitalism. That was the bank which offered the largest credit to the borrower. Vitalism was itself based on second class biologic securities and Sociology was an upstart science as yet. Vitalism was the easiest and the first inevitable reaction to the mechanical point of view.. It sought to interpret life as a going concern without looking deeply into its foundations. So did Sociology. It had just discovered that human beings in their manifold activities of living should form the subject-matter of Sociology, and consequently Psychology should be its natural ally, instead of Physics or Biology. The sociological counterpart of Life-Force was 'interests' in the hands of Prof. Small. They are 'the last terms in the analysis of social phenomena'. They are lodged in the individual. "Social forces are personal influences passing from person to person and producing activities that give content to the association". Prof. Small's reduction of the life-process, individual or social, to 'interests', as 'unsatisfied conditions of living demanding fulfilment' and indicating 'the predisposition to such rearrangement as would tend to realise the indicated condition' is well-known. Primarily an individualist, he retained his own and strengthened his followers' faith in the 'presence,' the 'action,' and the 'real content' of social forces. In the prevalent state of knowledge he could not do otherwise.

But knowledge has increased since then and Vitalism has been found inadequate. Believing as we do in the similarity of the processes of evolution in physical and mental phenomena in the early stages, their life-long interdependence and interpen-

tration, as well as in their noted differences in the latter stages on account of the development of intelligence, tools, and language, that is, on account of the consequent partial failure of psycho-physical parallelism, it is impossible for a theoretical sociologist to acknowledge the unique validity of either the mechanical or the purely psychological point of view. In fact the dynamic element in the life of the community will have to be understood as neither purely physical nor purely psychological.

It is clear that the greatest amount of illumination on the subject is to be expected from Psychology and specially from the psychology of the individual who lives in association with other individuals having more or less the same general physical and mental equipments on the whole, but widely differing between themselves in mental tone and colour. The emphasis on the individual cannot be stressed too much. Whether we look upon experience as a series of radiating psychological activities, or from the point of view of the purpose of biological or social activities, we find that the study of individual psychology is likely to be more fruitful for our purpose than that of what is called social psychology. Even the study of traditions and group-behaviours, which is considered to be the special field of social psychology, is incomplete without the knowledge of their connexions with the mental functionings of the individual. Logically, however, the consideration of the individual as the original repository or the embodiment of tendencies towards action, of instincts, impulses, interests, wishes, etc., is as unmaintainable as the consideration of the individual as the end-all of behaviour. In one case, the individual resembles the pack on a horse from which any article that the dealer has put in can be trotted out with flourish, and in the other, he is like the pack-horse itself which can be led by the nose to any place desired by the sociologist. Therefore, the best thing is to take the individual actions functionally, not as the function of one constant, *viz.* the environment or the body (the behaviouristic attitude), not even as a constant quantity and the environment including the body as functions thereof (anthropomorphic attitude), but as the process of interactions between changing variables influencing each

other. This means that individual functional psychology should include the study of interactions of individual minds and should never ignore the biological foundations or parallelisms of animal organizations, wherever such exist. Where the parallelisms fails (as in the use of tools by the individual human being, his larger interests and his capacity for communication of meaning through language), the points of departure are to be noted as peculiarities with which the individual human being start on his human career. We believe that the body of knowledge grouped round the Functional Psychology of the individual living in society, and the psycho-somatic point of view are likely to be of great help to the sociologist in the interpretation of changing social phenomena. We therefore make no apology for closely following Dr. Bentley in his exposition of this topic.*

From what we know of the mental process of the individual we can say at the first instance that specific responses are assembled into patterns by needs. As there is no perceptible unit of behaviour the fact of such assemblage assumes importance. If there are no needs, past or present, strong or weak, the individual, be it Pavlov's dog, Watson's child, or Koehler's ape, will not respond to any conditioning. Of course, the stimulus has to be repeated, the number and degree of the repetition depending upon the character of the need, its urgency or otherwise, and the nervous organization, its complexity or attunement (*stimmung*). As a result of the repetition, the response becomes easier, as in habit-formations. The response, on account of repetition, often dispenses with one stimulus when more than one need is present in association, as in conditioned reflexes or responses. Still the conditioned response is related to the need, though indirectly, by association. Now that the nucleus of a primary pattern is created, it gathers other patterns created in a similar way by slightly different needs. This weaving of patterns is done by what is known by association and selection by the dominant interest. Such is the simplest account of the preliminary organization of experience.

* "The Field of Psychology" by Dr. Bentley is a highly critical, up-to-date and scientific treatise, in so far as its reasoning and conclusions are based upon experimental observations.

There are certain organizations which take place, primarily, though not solely, under the influence of a stimulus from outside. There is also quite a large number of organizations which are built up, primarily, though not solely, under central control, *viz.*, the brain. There cannot be any clear-cut division between one type of organization and another. In one case, the receptors influence the organization more than the brain, in the other case, the brain is more important than the receptors. In between these types, there are various shades of organization of experience where the respective contributions of the central nervous system, on one hand, and the external stimuli through the receptors, on the other, to the organization of experience, are not grossly unequal in importance. This classification is supported by the findings of experimental psychology. If we further sub-divide the first type of organization, that which is formed, primarily, under the stimulus of the environment, we find that one type is primarily qualitative in its plan, as the effect of hearing a note or a cord, another is temporal, as the effect of hearing a melody, and yet another is extensive, as that of looking at a picture or a map. The characteristic features of (physico-chemical) stimuli are mode, intensity, extent and temporal course. The mode of the stimulus leads to the fusion-type of organization—a type in which the individual part is submerged in the unity. The visual and tactual stimuli do not operate in this way, but in musical experience there are numerous instances of the qualitative-fusion type of organization. The second attribute of the stimuli, intensity, is responsible for the degree of organization by making some factor more important than others. The way in which stimuli are arranged in space determines the extensive type of organization, as that created by looking at a picture.

Once experience is thus organized, the different arrangements give rise to different meanings. A particular extension in space supplies one type of meaning of the picture and as soon as the meaning-stage is reached, the central nervous system becomes the hero and the stimuli recede into the background. This is the significance of the statement that the individual creates meaning. The temporal factor in this setting works

rather mysteriously. Possibly for the reason that in experimental psychology it is rather difficult to have a space-time stimulus and the two stimuli are separated for purposes of convenience. In reality as it has been shown recently, the two are really inseparable, at least in the majority of cases. All that we can say is that there is some kind of unity in a tonal group which is possibly responsible for the unique type of fusional experience it generates. Experiments on the effects of music show that "within limits, the longer the periodic recurrence of stimulus continues, the closer is the integration and the greater the individuality and the meaning of the rhythmic object." In other words, if the notes and chords are struck at sufficiently distant intervals and the periodic recurrence of intervals broken, then the character of the melody changes fundamentally. The melodic air thus can be taken as a unity as well as a series of different notes and chords, running a temporal course, in one case 'a temporal interpenetration,' and in the other, 'a temporal disjunction.' In the matter of hearing and smelling, the organization is not of the spatial-extensive type, but of the qualitative-fusion type, mainly because of the situation of the receptors in comparatively inaccessible places. In the matter of vision and touch, however, the organs are spread in a mosaic form over the retina and the skin. For this there is a closer correspondence between stimuli and arrangement of experience. The relation between stimuli and responses here is not however identical with the relation that exists in the primary form of organization, whichever it might be, fusionary, ligatory or interpenetrative. There is one class of movement, the perception of which cannot be explained in terms of the stimulus-response formula of the orthodox behaviourist. The receptors play their part, but the part played by the brain is equally important, if not more so. A part of the response is initiated by the brain and is worked out through muscles and tendons, yet another part is "by way of sense-imaginal processes centrally aroused. There is quite a large number of such experiences, even of the primary kind, where the central contribution is in fact, double."

So far about the organization of experience through sensations. The tendinous strain noticed above becomes more

prominent in another class of organization of the affective type. The rôle of affects in the organization of behaviour patterns is not easy to detect, though its presence or absence adds to, detracts from or otherwise fundamentally changes the nature of experience. For the time being it may be left as the capacity for suffusion. These affects determine values. The affects, as such, do not organize themselves into experience, but utilise, suffuse, or colour sensations and images to form different incorporations. The third type of qualitative organization relates to images. In so far as it does not primarily depend upon the relation between stimuli and responses, it is better to call it a secondary incorporation. The importance of central initiative and control is of course greater here than anywhere.

Generally, the qualitative, temporal, extensive types of incorporations coalesce to form the perception of movement. At other times, they fuse into a unity. Besides these, there are loose confederations forming 'one ligated mass of experience.' In the matter of the above primary type, it is well to remember that the brain is seldom idle. Even in the most rudimentary process of incorporation (say the physical, which can be explained by the stimulus-response formula), the kinaesthetic factor involved in the tendinous pull is to a great extent dependent on cerebral initiative and control. The tendinous pull is not to be understood in terms of mechanical physiology, as an accumulation of the residues of bodily movements.

In the second type of qualitative organisation, an analysis of affective trends shows the contribution of the centre. In the secondary incorporations, it is only natural that the contribution of the centre is greater and more manifest through willing, memorial train, purpose and meaning. "The brain is the seat of all trends". The secondary incorporations are real incorporations, but they are connected indirectly with the external stimuli, the simple stimulus-receptor correspondence. They do not cease to be potent for this removal. The difference is in the matter of references. The total image may serve as the stage for memorial and imaginal processes, and for general reference, as opposed to particular reference denoting an object. With these differences, the secondary

incorporations are charged with meaning. Images may be formed into a constellation, a ligation or a unity. In some cases of image-formation, the brain may, on its own account, offer surrogates for external stimuli. But it must be noted that the strength of the integration of surrogate stimuli is reduced as in 'the decline of memorial meaning'. If the nature of memory and imagination is properly understood, *i.e.*, not as so many faculties, but as psycho-somatic functioning, then the importance of the decline in the strength of such integrations in the matter of mental development is clear.

It has been noted that there is no experimental evidence to separate imagination from memory. We only find "a large number of functional gradations exhibiting many differences of location, stability, richness, associative support, temporal setting, bodily reference, affective colouring and so on." In a perceptual train, the control is exercised by an outside agency, but in the memorial and imaginal train, the central predisposition takes the place of the outside agency. The disposition and functional tendencies carry the trains of associative tendencies of memory and imagination. Even when imagination is of a highly abstract nature, it is of great functional importance, in so far as "it removes the organism from the biographical current of events, freeing it from the limitations of times and places."

When sense-images have been added to sensations a new type of organization is formed which has all the peculiarities of the primary with this difference that the brain makes a larger contribution, and the peculiarities of the secondary, with this difference that it does not depend immediately upon the fulfilment of certain conditions within the cortex. In the formation of this third type, the receptor organs and the central nervous system have more or less an equal share. But this newness of integration arising after the decline in the strength of fusion, ligation or constellation, is not real, excepting in cases of real thinking where the process is one of elaboration of topics. The novelty may be due to a resuscitation of the 'residues of thousands and thousands antecedent functions' so long kept in check by the

'limitations of the organism and by the amalgamation and the mutual inhibition of different residues.'

The following are some of the important conditions of secondary and tertiary forms of integration. The first set of conditions relates to the original integration when the functioning starts. These conditions of impression assemble the neural events in one functional and mental unity, by repetition. Repetition is responsible for the economy in the expenditure of nervous energy, for gradual consolidation, and increasing clearness of meaning and retention, though it certainly leads to a deterioration in the quality of experience. The strength of impression depends, among other factors, on the length of the series, rhythm and attention. "Clearness, intimate segregation of processes, and the forward-running determination, all of which are aspects of sustained attention, are, when taken together, an important condition of associative integrity". Meaning, (which is not the same thing as sense indicated, say, in non-sense) is another very important condition of the formation of impression, in so far as it lends a wholeness to the different units by significance.

The second set of conditions relates to the time-interval between two impressions. This interval is responsible for the functional residues in such a way that they may persevere, revive or preserve the bonds of incorporations intact. Experimental evidence shows the opposite effect, *viz.*, obliviscence, which certainly means a weakening of bonds but may also mean some neural change. The secondary associations, more or less like overtones to the fundamental notes, tend to disappear after a certain interval. The interval is however important for explaining retro-active inhibitions, fusion or confusion, and reorganisation. So repetition and interval both 'tend to reduce, obscure and eliminate, as well as to consolidate, the mental factors'. The mind suffers the same kind of eclipse but the functional effects of these two conditions, *viz.* repetition and interval, are certainly different. "Under repetition the bodily residues of function are somehow made cumulative and the limits for memory and understanding are extended; but with the passage of time the mental loss is symptomatic

of a general functional decline, where we say that we 'commit to memory', we should better say that we 'commit to body'. The fact that both repetition and the memorial interval alike impoverish the mind, but lead to opposite functional effects illustrates, in a striking way, the want of parallelism, between experience, on the one side, and the total functional capabilities of the organism, on the other. What is primarily required of mind in matters of functional limit is meaning—far more than raw quality, and more even than the organisation of qualities”.

The third set of conditions relates to the immediate incentives to reorganization. In so far as stimuli to the mixed type of incorporations are concerned, it must be noted that they are fused with those functional residues of the brain, present in thinking, imagination and comprehension. The external stimuli are no substitutes for 'the sensory cues' located in the central nervous system, as the Behaviourists in their preoccupation with behaviour suppose. Even when the receptor organs are excited they function under the guidance and control of those central cues. The general temper of the organism or moods furnish another incentive to re-productive association. The third type of incentives is of course supplied by the brain. The Associationist had laid great stress on this type of incentives. Rejecting the idea of Memory, Imagination, Thinking, Habit etc. as so many states of mind, and accepting the functional interpretation, we cannot but conclude that somatically, the functional residues in the central nervous system form functional trends, which, when very strong, leave the brain comparatively free of outside agencies; and that, psychologically, the brain organizes behaviour patterns by lending them meaning and general reference. “Although we know but little of the functions of the brain, we do have plenty of evidence that a total neural function leaves behind a total disposition or trend which tends.....to complete itself in the old way once it is renewed. To be sure, time, conflict, and confusion are constantly setting a term to this complete renewal; but the tendency towards it is, apparently, what we discover in our associative and determining tendencies and in our topical and habitational trends.”

In the reference side of mental processes Ach finds an anticipation of the coming stimulus, corresponding to the determining tendency on the physical side. Muller rejects the idea of anticipation and posits a directive idea, *i.e.*, an idea of a goal working on a mental disposition. This important goal idea "commands attention, it possesses 'interest' and interest serves to lend it a stronger perseveration and a greater associative effectiveness." We do not agree either with Ach or Muller in postulating such mysterious tendencies, but they lay stress on the importance of the meaning side of the question ignored by the Behaviourist. The predicament, as in emotions, the meaning-series, as in perception, the topic and the novel-problem, as in comprehension and thinking, all assemble relevant experience in certain groups; and when the groups are in line with the functional trends they lead to performance, action or behaviour.

A few remarks about the limitations of the Behaviouristic method in the interpretation of social phenomena, specially with regard to the study of the nature of social forces will not be out of place here. The work of Pavlov and Sherrington is really great from the point of view of method as well as that of result. Their studies of 'conditioning', strictly limited to the observation and measurement of objective phenomena by objective methods, have opened new vistas in psychology. And their interpretations are extremely cautious and never step beyond what is warranted by facts. They frankly do not consider the subjective phenomena which cannot be scientifically tackled, and confine themselves to those that can be. After reading their works one can not conclude that all human behaviour is going to be explained in terms of stimulus-response or conditioned and unconditioned reflexes. Nobody can deny a whole realm of subjective phenomena which have not yet been measured by them.

Leaving the highly technical work of Pavlov and Sherrington aside, there are numerous writers who would apply the well-known formulæ to every conceivable phenomenon and claim to have explained everything by them. They go beyond explanation, they can even produce geniuses, if children

are left in their hands from a very early stage. As parents are on the whole very conservative and do not trust anybody but themselves, the Behaviourists are applying their energies to less fruitful tasks of 'metaphysical speculation',—and that too of the worst type which assumes a scientific garb. Those social psychologists who swear by the behaviouristic explanation do not philosophise, of course, but introduce subjective forces like desires, wishes, volitions, sentiments 'into a chain of trans-subjective phenomena.' In other words they surreptitiously introduce what they had been compelled to take away by the fashion of being scientific. Without the keys of well-known terms like fear, rage, etc., it is impossible to understand their hieroglyphic. Even when the language of such pseudo-behaviourists has the appearance of extreme caution it is easy to detect the terminology of the introspective method. Even in the use of such terms as attitude, desire, symbolic stimuli, psycho-social pattern of behaviour, one can detect introspection which alone can charge them with meaning. Otherwise, these terms are useless, redundant and tautological. And this is the main charge against such pseudo-scientific interpretation. "Meaning is generally indescribable in the terminology of strict behaviourism because meaning is not a trans-subjective or overt phenomenon which may be observed in a change of muscles, or glands or nervous system.....A 'behaviourist net' cannot catch 'meaning' at all, as a unit of weight cannot be used to measure space."

But as we know, the reference side is as important to truth as the physical, otherwise the psychosomatic point of view cannot be maintained. So, in any case, Pavlov's experiments, few as they are in number and limited as they are in scope, do not supply the sociologist with as many formulæ as he would want in order to explain the infinitely greater complexity, subtler movement and more potential directions of human beings. The rasher explanations explain more than what is wanted. The trends seated in the cortex, the selectiveness of the central nervous system, no less than the trains, fusions, ligations of experience on the side of meaning, especially in the secondary and tertiary types of incorporations of experience,

are at least as important a series of phenomena in the determination of the nature of such changes which have been so long explained by 'Social Forces' as another simpler series which can be interpreted by the stimulus-response formula. The affective unity and suffusion, the apprehensive integrity, the cortical integration, selection, guidance and control, the emotional unity around predicaments, the elaboration of a problem, the architectural or formal unity of certain experiences, the sensimaginal forwardness, the memorial and imaginal trends and the functional residues are a vast field of observation badly and only superficially cultivated by the behaviourist. These are facts about the dynamic nature of human experience. How is the dynamic nature explained by the behaviourist? Generally, he ignores it, for his vision is cross-sectional. But when his vision is wider, the explanation is by a mystic factor, *viz.* purpose.

All behaviour, according to the behaviourist, is purposive; each pattern is ruled by a dominant interest, each interest is, in final analysis, created by a bodily need. The next question is—if all behaviour is purposive, where and how is the selection of patterns made? The answer is—the first selection takes place in the afferent course of the impulse, another in the reception-centres of the cerebral cortex, as a result of which operation, certain stimuli somehow override others. As soon as a reflex is conditioned, we can assume that a selection has taken place. Once this preliminary sorting has taken place, the reception-apparatus recognises certain patterns 'as a lock recognises its key.' A secondary selection of the incoming impulses is made by the sensory co-ordination centres. The higher association-areas select from out of the products of the lower co-ordination centres. Once this is done a general reference ensues. The repetition of certain co-ordinations leads to retention. Hence memory is selective. No behaviourist, be it noted, would take either the stimulus or the response acting independently with the result that the causal relation is not recognised. This is, of course, understandable. But is it not tantamount to the mere statement of the fact that there is selection under a dominant interest which is more or less a set complex of stimulus-

response? Is it not equating explanation with a statement? Barring possibly the reflex centres, all the other responsive centres, like the receptors, the sensory co-ordination centres and higher association-areas are concerned with the totality of a situation. If that is so, then analysis of mental process has a limit and there can be no logical objection to the point of view of the Gestalt-School, which starts from the total situation, though objections may be raised to its explanations and accounts of the process of its further development or accretion.

If Behaviourism fails to be a complete account of all the mental processes, common sense would dictate us to arrive at a compromise between the behaviouristic and structural interpretations—the former for ordinary actions and the latter for the actions of the higher association areas. This compromise is entirely tentative on account of the lack of our knowledge of the activities of the brain on which so much of human behaviour depends. It is quite clear from the above review that the predisposition of the organism, be it hereditary, functional, neural or cerebral, is not considered to be important at all by the behaviourist. The fact is that organic predisposition (if not organic memory) vitiates the ‘one-to-one correlation between stimulus and response.’ “The brain cannot be considered to be merely a sieve, it is the seat of functional trends.” Repetition does not always lengthen the memorial train; more often than not, it leads to mental impoverishment, a decay in the strength of impression and the incorporations of experience. It is also a fact, verified by experiments, that motor-outlets are blocked, emotional outbursts destroyed, instead of ‘completing the action-determination’ In the matter of reference, the position is that “the selected and co-ordinated movement or movement train resulting from specific central determination completes the executive function; but it is the determination and not primarily the resulting movement which informs the action with meaning.” Finally we cannot hold, in the light of experiments, that all function (as for example memory or perception) would always be charged with meaning or lead to action.

So from the psycho-somatic point of view, it is easy to detect not only the defects of behaviouristic interpretations, but of many

other schools as well. Some initial impulse behind mental activities is posited by all. McDougall calls it instinct, and following Shand, sentiment. Small calls it interests. Freud, Jung, Adler play on the variations of the libido, Id, sex, ego, etc. Thomas and Holt's phrase is wish or desire, Park's attitude. All these terms have certain common features. They do not signify subjective phenomena, but they represent subjective-objective operations or tendencies to action. These representations of tendencies to action are either lodged in the individual or operate through them. As they are communicable, they are, in fact, Social Forces. The common element in the use of such terms consists in the emphasis on the active, *i.e.*, the dynamic, as opposed to the content side of mental operations. Naturally, the biological and motor aspects, *i.e.*, the consideration of life as a going concern as chiefly understood in terms of the human body acting as an instrument in the hands of nature to work out its purpose, assume prominence in their interpretations. Such diverse schools of thought as those of McDougall and Freud, Park and Small are brought together by the common fallacies of considering a name for the thing itself and of biological teleology which first considers one activity of nature as the only activity and then describes it as a deep design working itself out. In other words, the interpretation in terms of design, (of the key-formula to which each school claims exclusive possession) draws them together. A touch of nature makes the whole world kin.

A few examples may be given. Park defines attitude as "the tendency of the person to react positively or negatively to the total situation. Accordingly, attitudes may be defined as the mobilisation of the will of the person." "Attitudes are mobilisations and organisation of the wishes with reference to definite situations." Then again, "the clearest way to think of attitudes is as behaviour-patterns or units of behaviour." We know, however, that the wishes may be the same, but attitudes may be different, for a total situation may always arise out of interpretation of two or more wishes, just as wishes may be different and attitudes similar. Wishes may be positive but attitudes may be negative. Besides, if attitudes are primary

facts, how can they be split up into wishes? And wishes are more than one. Holt analyses wishes from the point of view of organization around the pivotal outer object and concludes that wishes are the same thing as accumulated specific responses. "An exact definition of the 'wish' is that it is a course of action which some mechanism is set to carry out, whether it does so or does not. All emotions, as well as the feelings of pleasure and displeasure, are separable from the wishes, and this precludes any thought of a merely hedonistic psychology. The wish is any purpose or project from a course of action, whether it is being merely entertained by the mind, or is being actually executed—a distinction which is really of little importance. We shall do well if we consider this to be, as in fact it is, dependent on a motor attitude of the physical body, which goes over into overt action and conduct when the wish is carried into execution.....This so-called wish becomes the unit of psychology, replacing the older unit commonly called 'sensation,' which latter, it is to be noted, was a content of consciousness unit, whereas the wish is a more dynamic affair." Again, "It is a course of action with regard to the environment which the machinery of the body is capable of carrying out. This capacity resides clearly in the parts of which the body consists and in the way in which these are put together, not so much in the matter of which the body is composed, as in the forms which this matter assumes when organised."

W. I. Thomas's classification of wishes into the desire for security, for new experience, recognition and response has been useful in studying emigrants and Polish peasants, but his analysis of wishes cannot be considered generally satisfactory. At one place wish is equated to desire, and at another to value. Wishes are also positive and negative. The character is determined by the arrangement of wishes and "the individual's attitude towards the totality of his attitudes constitutes his conscious 'personality'." Small prefers to call interests as the final term in social analysis. They stand behind desires even. "In general, an interest is an unsatisfied capacity, corresponding to an unrealised condition, and it is predisposition to such re-arrangement as would tend to realise the indicated

condition." "They are affinities, latent in persons, pressing for satisfaction, whether the persons are conscious of them either generally or specifically, or not; they are indicated spheres of activity which persons enter into and occupy in the course of realising their personality". "Interests—are merely specifications in the make up of the personal units".

Enough quotations have been given to show the nature of Social Forces as understood by eminent sociologists of recent times. Desires, attitudes, interests are put into the human being to be brought out again to explain conduct. They are only terms, but even as terms, they confuse content with process. Interpreted functionally, interest or wish or desire is a liberation of human energy, a specific response. As Ogden has said, "interest is not something additional to or behind activity, but just the activity itself." If an interest be an unconscious motive as well as the conscious end of behaviour at one and the same time, then it is nothing more and nothing less than the liberation of human energy, which of course is not uniform. Pieron agrees with this conclusion. He understands interest as the manifestation of the intervention of affective phenomena and tendencies, which varies as one or other of these tendencies predominates. "An action may arouse in me keen interest, but this will suddenly disappear when the uneasiness of expectation polarises all my mental activity towards the passing moment." In other words, these explanations of social forces can alone be understood in terms of behaviour, stimuli and responses. Naturally, the defects of behaviouristic explanation are present here but not the merits thereof.

The same defects of logical inadequacy, arising out of insufficiency or over-sufficiency, appear as well in psycho-analytic interpretations of social behaviour. The dynamic terminology of psycho-analysts does not exonerate them from the defect of mechanical explanations. To posit a reservoir of energy, the libido, and then describe its purposive action in the liberation process, for preservation of race (Freud), individual self-adjustments (Jung), or compensation for actual or alleged inferiority (Adler) does not throw more light on the problem than Small's interests, Park's attitudes, Thomas's wishes. One

may extend the net and include Gault's explanation by complexes and drives, Tarde's imitation, Sidi's suggestion and even Gidding's intelligence appearing between conflict and social adjustment. Such classificatory analyses are of secondary importance so far as our present topic is concerned.

The instinctive school, as represented by McDougall, Shand and Pillsbury, is no more enlightening. McDougall's theory of sentiments as social forces suffers from the common defects in classification and definitions, except in one important point, where he admits the mixture of instinctive dispositions. His classification of sentiments into the concrete particular appearing in the child, the concrete general appearing next, and the abstract sentiments appearing last are 'too good for human natures' daily food.' The repeated excitation of 'a concrete particular sentiment' need not always develop into the concrete general sentiment, the nervous energy may disperse as well, in fact does disperse in the course of repetition taking the concreteness away. An emotion may mean only a register of some experience and nothing more. Repeated registrations of an emotion may lead to its persistence, form into a convention, or a habit, without a corresponding increase in the nervous energy that is involved in action-determination. It may harden into an attitude, or it may disappear. If an attitude is a unit of behaviour, or a behaviour-pattern, then McDougall and Shand may be said to lean on behaviourism ultimately. Then McDougall calls the growth of sentiment as the 'organisation of the affective and conative life.' He rightly believes in emotional dispositions. There are affective tendencies which must be understood along with other operations of the association areas and other functions of the brain. These affective tendencies are not to be separated from cortical functionings. The chemical actions operating through the vascular tracts are equally to be considered in connexion with the study of emotional dispositions. Besides it is not clear whether the latter are functionings of the whole organism with reactive powers of their own, directing or being directed by the association-areas, or not. Is there any correspondence between the co-ordination of the nervous system and the biological unity of

the organism? If there is, what is the degree or strength of the correspondence or connexion between the two? Or is the unity of the nervous system, or of the organism, nothing but the unity of the affective tendency or the emotional disposition? Again, should we separate thinking from the latter? These are only some of the important questions which are left unsolved by McDougall and his school in the analysis of social forces.

Another serious defect of the instinctivist school consists in the unauthentic classification of instincts. There is always the need for some classification, but any classification to suit the needs of the author will not do. For it suggests a hierarchy, an order of instincts or emotions which is dictated by non-scientific predilections. The lowest and the most primary instincts or emotions are the bodily ones, *i.e.*, those prompted by the body, the highest are the non-physical ones (the so-called instinct of workmanship, for example,) which control by symbols the other urges, making them lose their immediacy and urgency in the processes of absorption, co-ordination, inhibition, canalization, projection, rationalization, sublimation or negatively, by dissipation. The only sense in which the terms 'higher and lower' involved in the use of the word hierarchy is of course in terms of the enrichment of meaning, comprehensiveness, generality, and sometimes, the piquancy of reference.

The increasing cortical domination through symbolic meaning is a fact, as much of a fact as the urgency of immediate needs of the body which may be said to supply the energy for the movement in behaviour. In the organization of a large number of incorporations of the secondary and mixed types, the contributions of the body and the mind are intermingled. One fact is as important as another if references are the same; if they are different, the question of values comes in. This reference-side of the problem does not receive adequate treatment in the hands of the instinctivist, though such treatment can be expected of him in the light of his habit of classification and ordering. As a natural corollary to this defect, the question of selection in patterns of behaviour is answered unsatisfactorily. If the selection is a physiological business, then

McDougall's theory will have to be based on Jennings's trial and error-method, the economy of which is brought about by Yerkes' 'ideative behaviour and associative registration of experience.' But this economy is not suggested in McDougall's analysis. There is no sign of even the role and play of intelligence (Claparde's 'technique of attempts at reaction') by which a representative adaptation or some sort of prevision may take the place of trial and error method.

And finally, McDougall's analysis of the modification of instincts by emotions in the creation of sentiments is incomplete. Thus, it will not do to consider the emotional dispositions as the storehouse of the energy for social forces. They are the liberations of energy round a predicament modifiable by the incorporations of experience effected by the co-ordination centres of the association-areas of the brain. Without accepting Pieron's arguments for distinguishing the 'palaeo-mental affective' tendencies from the 'neo-mental intellectual' trends in the matter of the determination of the means of action and the explanation of the processes of selection and direction of behaviour-patterns, it is perfectly legitimate to assert that intellect has a very important role to play in such matters in so far as the affective trends are inextricably mingled with other cortical operations. The questions of identity between the biological unity and the psychological unity does not arise from the psycho-somatic point of view.

Before we close, a suggestive and popular interpretation, of social force, *viz.*, that of Fougillee may be briefly considered. His use of the term 'idea' is so vague and so apt to be confused with popular misconceptions, that like any other such psychological formula, it either explains too much or too little. He assumes at one moment a mind that is blank, at another an arena of conflict. He explains the action of the divining rod, table-turning, thought-reading, hypnosis, auto-suggestion, fixed-idea or monomania, language with its catch words and formulas (with the exception of his own) and all moral and social changes by the driving force of ideas. His explanation, however, receives little support from recent work. A recognition of the existence of such facts as the state of consciousness

of a problem (Aufgabe) and a state of awareness (Bewusstheit), a kind of imageless presentations of a knowledge content,—the understanding of the intervening process between idea and action, the numerous instances of inhibition blocking the motor-outlets, the exhaustion or at least the transformation of neural currents, the emotional outbursts destroying instead of completing the action determination make us very suspicious of Fouillee's dynamogeny. If ideas spring from the brain, as they are supposed to do, then the brain is a half-way station between stimulation and movement,' for which, however, there is no strong support from experiments. Logically, too, ideas have a reference-aspect as distinguished from the vital, indicative and motor aspects. In spite of all this Fouillee has been responsible for the fruitful idea of perseveration and perseverative tendencies which reinforce mental residues from time to time. It may be noted here that this idea constitutes the core of organic-memory. The cerebral engrams spontaneously bring about imaginal processes that develop into memory under favourable circumstances. It is clear that once the memorial process is initiated it will go on by virtue of the energy supplied by the body and the meaning supplied by the co-ordination and other factors. Even the theory of perseveration or organic memory has to depend on congenial situation to start the memorial operations. Memory, in fact, is nothing but the reinforcement and facilitation (by repetition of experiences giving greater and easier evocative power) of the passage of the nervous impulse along certain paths—the greater facilitation in evocative power being favoured by congenial situation.

We have already remarked briefly on the fallacy of those who study facts, deduce a concept therefrom, give it a name and call it a social force and then identify the facts studied as the manifestation of the same social force. From the point of view of theoretical Sociology, the concept of social force is practically useless. For the applied sociologists and the social engineer, the concept may or may not be useful. Force, if the word is to be used at all, is to be used neither as a series of stimuli, nor as a series of responses, but in the sense of the dynamic relationship between the two, such connections being

directed by the predisposition of the responding organism, the affective trends and the meaning or reference of the organization. In this sense, there is no need for classifying forces as subjective or objective, individual or social, biological or environmental, for both sides of the question are included in the fact of dynamic relationship. Therefore the individual is not to be taken as either a storehouse or a centre of the field of forces where the lines intersect.

Regarding the other idea of force, *viz.*, causal compulsion, it may be said that a causal relationship does not enter into a large number of incorporations of stimuli and responses. "The relationship is not so constant and uniform as to be reducible to an action". Yet there is a kind of uniformity in the physiologic process, though not exactly leading to an identical uniformity in the psychological counterpart. That is to say, the psycho-physical or psycho-organic parallelism is not complete. The affective tendencies and the tendinous pulls and other physiological trends are important co-ordinating and directing agencies. Even in thinking (*i.e.* in the mental processes using symbols) there is not always the causal compulsion. The play of tendencies having their origin in the affective judgments of value is apparent. "Affective processes and associative processes are closely intermingled, and, in the higher emotions, very complex intellectual data mingle with affective impressions". "In any case, whether we seek to reduce them to something else, the directive tendencies of activities and of organic behaviour are data which cannot be neglected in the study of mental functioning." What the reflex does for a short time in a particular way by particular mechanisms, the affective tendencies do for a much longer time in a more generalized way through the association-area of the brain, which means a stabler and more persistent total activity. By repetition, the activity is codified into habit. Memory* or

*Is imagination a directive force? No more than memory possibly. There is no experimental evidence to separate imagination from memory. What we find is only 'a large number of functional gradations exhibiting many differences of location, stability, richness, associative support, temporal setting, bodily reference, affective colouring and so on'. In a perceptual train, the chief guidance comes from outside the organism, whereas "in both the memorial and the imaginal train the outside guidance is replaced by a central predisposition. In the one case, the disposition sustains a connected series of associa-

retention, the totality of the situation of present experience, the affective tendencies and the organic state, all favour or oppose movement along habitual tracts. Naturally, heredity, (not the logical deterministic heredity, but the heredity of science that works slowly, silently and inevitably through racial, cellular and possibly temperamental factors susceptible to slow change, and that differs in sociological effects from acquired characters chiefly from the point of view of time), is a highly important factor here. If all these favour movement along certain cerebral tracts, the responses become automatic. This is how the spontaneousness of a force is to be appreciated. The spontaneity or automatic nature of habits means not only the expenditure of energy but its reservation to oppose the formation of new habits and experiences. This conflict between old habits and the acquisition of new experiences shows the nature of judgment or valuation. So, if the essential thing in analysis is the factorial description of an event, or a relationship, then social force may be analysed into (1) perservation, (2) affective dispositions, trends and many types of associative incorporations, (3) meaning, and the most important of all—(4) the interplay of all the above factors. What else is Personality? In this analysis, the social factor is involved in each term, in each idea, and in each activity. The word 'social' does not mean a new factor which disturbs the analysis. For, if the group or society, qua society, has no brain, which is the seat of all trends, apart from the brain of each of the individuals constituting society, then the idea of social mind as the starter of social forces falls to the ground. At best, it remains as an idea in the brain of the individual. But, as we have seen, the theory of ideas as social forces is as untrustworthy as that of interests, sentiments or attitudes as such, which does not mean that social behaviour, social tradition and social significance are not facts. It means only this—that they are not new facts which are precluded from the above analysis.

tive tendencies which carry the memories; in the other, a like series of functional tendencies which carry the imaginative train". Even when imagination is abstract, it is of great functional importance in so far as it "removes the organism from the biographical current of events, freeing it from the limitation of times and places."

THE EDUCATIONAL MISSION OF THE VISVA-BHARATI.

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

I

I have been asked to speak this evening to my invisible audience about the educational mission to which I have devoted my life and I am thankful for this opportunity.

I am an artist and not a man of science, and therefore my institution necessarily has assumed the aspect of a work of art and not that of a pedagogical laboratory. And this is the reason why I find it difficult to give you a distinct idea of my work which is continually growing for the last thirty years. With it my own mind has grown, and my own ideal of education found freedom to reach its fullness through a vital process so elusive that the picture of its unity cannot be analysed.

Children's minds are sensitive to the influences of the great world to which they have been born. This delicate receptivity of their passive mind helps them, without their feeling any strain, to master language, that most complex instrument of expression full of ideas that are indefinable and symbols that deal with abstractions. Through their natural gift of guessing, children learn the meaning of the words which we cannot explain.

But it is just at this critical period that the child's life is brought into the education factory, lifeless, colourless, dissociated from the context of the universe, with bare white walls staring like eyeballs of the dead. The children have to sit inert whilst lessons are pelted at them like hailstones on flowers.

I believe that children should be surrounded with the things of nature that have their own educational value. Their minds should be allowed to stumble on and be surprised at everything that happens before them in the life of to-day. The new to-morrow will stimulate their attention with new facts of life.

The minds of the adults are crowded; the stream of lessons perpetually flowing from the heart of nature does not fully touch them; they choose those that are useful, rejecting the rest as inadmissible. The children have no such distractions. With them every new fact comes to a mind that is always open, with an abundant hospitality. And through this exuberant, indiscriminate acceptance they learn innumerable facts within a short time, amazing compared to our own slowness. These are the most important lessons of life that are thus learnt in the first few years of our career.

Because, when I was young I underwent the mechanical pressure of a teaching process, one of man's most cruel, and most wasteful mistakes, I felt it my duty to found a school where the children might be free inspite of the school.

At the age of twelve I was first coerced into learning English. Most of you in this country are blissfully unconscious of the mercilessness of your own language. You will admit, however, that neither its spelling, nor its syntax, is perfectly rational. The penalty for this I had to pay, without having done anything to deserve it, with the exception of being born ignorant.

When in the evening my English teacher used to come I was dragged to my daily doom at a most unsympathetic desk and an unprepossessing text book containing lessons that are followed by rows of separated syllables with accent-marks like soldiers' bayonets.

As for that teacher, I can never forgive him. He was so inordinately conscientious! He insisted on coming every single evening,—there never seemed to be either illness or death in his family. He was so preposterously punctual too. I remember how the fascination for the frightful attracted me every evening to the terrace facing the road; and just at the right moment, his fateful umbrella,—for bad weather never prevented him from coming,—would appear at the bend of our lane.

Remembering the experience of my young days, of the school masters and the class rooms, also knowing something of the natural school which Nature herself supplies to all her

creatures, I established my institution in a beautiful spot, far away from the town, where the children had the greatest freedom possible under the shade of ancient trees and the field around open to the verge of horizon.

From the beginning I tried to create an atmosphere which I considered to be more important than the class teaching. The atmosphere of nature's own beauty was there waiting for us from a time immemorial with her varied gifts of colours and dance, flowers and fruits, with the joy of her mornings and the peace of her starry nights. I wrote songs to suit the different seasons, to celebrate the coming of Spring and the resonant season of the rains following the pitiless months of summer. When nature herself sends her message we ought to acknowledge its compelling invitation. While the kiss of rain thrills the heart of the surrounding trees if we pay all our dutiful attention to mathematics we are ostracised by the spirit of universe. Our holidays are unexpected like Nature's own. Clouds gather above the rows of the palm trees without any previous notice; we gladly submit to its sudden suggestion and run wildly away from our Sanscrit grammar. To alienate our sympathy from the world of birds and trees is a barbarity which is not allowed in my institution.

I invited renowned artists from the city to live at the school, leaving them free to produce their own work which the boys and girls watch if they feel inclined. It is the same with my own work. I compose my songs and poems, the teachers sit round me and listen. The children are naturally attracted and they peep in and gather, even if they do not fully understand, something fresh from the heart of the composer.

From the commencement of our work we have encouraged our children to be of service to our neighbours from which has grown up a village reconstruction work in our neighbourhood unique in the whole of India. Round our educational work the villages have grouped themselves in which the sympathy for nature and service for man have become one. In such extension of sympathy and service our mind realizes its true freedom.

Along with this has grown an aspiration for even a higher freedom, a freedom from all racial and national prejudice.

Children's sympathy is often deliberately made narrow and distorted making them incapable of understanding alien peoples with different languages and cultures. This causes us, when our growing souls demand it, to grope after each other in ignorance, to suffer from the blindness of this age. The worst fetters come when children lose their freedom of heart in love.

We are building up our institution upon the ideal of the spiritual unity of all races. I hope it is going to be a great meeting place for individuals from all countries who believe in the divine humanity, and who wish to make atonement for the cruel disloyalty displayed against her by men. Such idealists I have frequently met in my travels in the West, often unknown persons, of no special reputation, who suffer and struggle for a cause generally ignored by the clever and the powerful. These individuals, I am sure, will alter the outlook for the future. By them will be ushered a new sunrise of truth and love, like that great personality, who had only a small number of disciples from among the insignificant, and who at the end of his career presented a pitiful picture of utter failure. He was reviled by those in power, unknown by the larger world, and suffered an inglorious death, and yet through the symbol of this utmost failure he conquers and lives for ever.

For some time past education has lacked idealism in its mere exercise of an intellect which has no depth of sentiment. The one desire produced in the heart of the students has been an ambition to win success in the world, not to reach some inner standard of perfection, not to obtain self-emanicipation.

Let me confess this fact, that I have my faith in higher ideals. At the same time, I have a great feeling of delicacy in giving utterance to them, because of certain modern obstacles. We have now-a-days to be merely commonplace. We have to wait on the reports in the newspapers, representative of the whole machinery which has been growing up all over the world for the making of life superficial. It is difficult to fight through such obstructions and to come to the centre of humanity.

However I have this one satisfaction that I am at least able to put before you the mission to which these last years of

my life have been devoted. As a servant of the great cause I must be frank and strong in urging upon you this mission. I represent in my institution an ideal of brotherhood, where men of different countries and different languages can come together. I believe in the spiritual unity of man, and therefore I ask you to accept this task from me. Unless you come and say, "We also recognize this ideal", I shall know that this mission has failed. Do not merely discuss me as a guest, but as one who has come to ask your love, your sympathy and your faith in the following of a great cause.

II

There is no meaning in such words as spiritualising† the machine, we can spiritualise our own being which makes use of the machine, just as there is nothing good or bad in our bodily organs, but the moral qualities are in our mind. When the temptation is small our moral nature easily overcomes it, but when the bribe that is offered to our soul is too big we do not even realise that its dignity is offended. To-day the profit that the machine brings to our door is too big and we do not hesitate to scramble for it even at the cost of our humanity. The shrinking of the man in us is concealed by the augmentation of things outside and we lack the time to grieve over the loss. We can only hope that science herself will help us to bring back sanity to the human world by lessening the opportunity to gamble with our fortune. The means of production constructed by science in her attempts to gain access into nature's storehouse are tremendously complex which only proves her own immaturity just as simplicity is wanting in the movements of a swimmer who is inexperienced. It is this cumbersome complexity in the machinery which makes it not only unavailable to the majority of mankind but also compels us to centralise it in monster factories, uprooting the workers' life from its natural soil and creating unhappiness. I do not see any other way to extricate us from these tangled evils except to wait for science to simplify our means of production and thus lessen the enormity of individual greed.

I believe that the social unrest prevalent to-day all over the world is owing to the anarchy of spirit in the modern civilisation.

†In reply to the question whether machines can be spiritualised.

What is called progress is the progress in the mechanical contrivances; it is in fact an indefinite extension of our physical limbs and organs which, owing to the enormous material advantage that it brings to us, has tempted the modern man away from his inner realm of spiritual values. The attainment of perfection in human relationship through the help of religion, and cultivation of our social qualities occupied the most important place in our civilisation up till now. But to-day our homes have dissolved into hotels, community life is stifled in the dense and dusty atmosphere of the office, men and women are afraid of love, people clamour for their rights and forget their obligations, and they value comfort more than happiness and the spirit of display more than that of beauty.

Great civilisations in the East as well as in the West, have flourished in the past because they produced food for the spirit of man for all time; they tried to build their life upon the faith in ideals, the faith which is creative. These great civilisations were at last run to death by men of the type of our precocious schoolboys of modern times, smart and superficially critical, worshippers of self, shrewd bargainers in the market of profit and power, efficient in their handling of the ephemeral, who presume to buy human souls with their money and throw them into their dust bins when they have been sucked dry, and who, eventually, driven by suicidal forces of passion, set their neighbours' houses on fire and are themselves enveloped by the flame.

It is some great ideal which creates great societies of men; it is some blind passion which breaks them to pieces. They thrive so long as they produce food for life; they perish when they burn up life in insatiate self-gratification. We have been taught by our sages that it is Truth and not things which saves man from annihilation.

The reward of truth is peace, the reward of truth is happiness. The people suffer from the upsetting of equilibrium when power is there and no inner truth to which it is related, like a motor car in motion whose driver is absent.*

*Address broadcasted by Radio, New York, November 10, 1930.

GAṆAPATI

By HARIDAS MITRA

SECTION I.

One of the most familiar and interesting figures of the Indian pantheon is that of the elephant-headed deity, Gaṇeśa. According to Puranic myths¹ Gaṇeśa was Śiva's elder son², the darling of his father. Gaṇeśa was placed in special charge of Śiva's *gaṇas* or group of personal attendants and for his vehicle he has a rat or bandicoot. Gaṇeśa is often worshipped independently or along with other deities in all Brahmanic homes in his double rôle as a remover of obstacles and as a bestower of good luck.

The shrines of Gaṇeśa are numerous in Kerala, Mahārāṣṭra and Utkal'a—in the South-Western, the Western and the Eastern parts of India.

At what period of history exactly, if we might call it such, and by what processes Gaṇeśa worship grew up, we do not know; the facts are steeped in complete and strange oblivion. However, in tracing the origin and the development of Gaṇeśa worship, we have to consider chiefly the evidence of:—

- (a) Archæology and History.
- (b) Dharma-śāstras and works connected with ritual and worship.
- (c) Itihāsa-Purāṇas and other literary works.
- (d) Anthropology and Religion.
- (e) Nāṭya-and Śilpa-śāstras and other manuals on Art and Aesthetics.

Equally uncertain and obscure are the meanings of the term Gaṇeśa and the many other appellations of the deity, and we have to depend here on linguistic evidences³ also, to find out their exact sense. The *Kośas* and

1. For general Iconographical descriptions of Gaṇeśa see G. N. Rao : *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, 1914, Vol. 1, Part I; H. Krishna Sastri : *South Indian Gods and Goddesses*, Madras Government Press, 1916; Brindavan C. Bhattacharya : *Indian Images*, Part I. *The Brahmanic Iconography*, Cal., 1921.

2. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* relates how Gaṇeśa got married first, by a trick, before Kārtikeya, though the latter was really the elder of the two. In utter remorse, Kārtikeya vowed life-long celibacy and retired to *Krauñca* Peak, and therewith people forgot his relationship as Gaṇeśa's elder brother.

3. The Sanskrit word *gaṇa* is derived from the Indogermanic hypothetical root **ger* 'to comprise,' 'hold or come together' (*Pali-English Dictionary*, PTS, 1921); 'to draw together,' 'approach,' 'assemble' (J. Baly : *Eur-Aryan Roots*, Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner & Co., Lond., 1897) **gera* > *gr̥ṇa* > *gaṇa*. Cf. *tr̥ṇa* > Pkt. *taṇa*.

dictionaries give a number of meanings of the term *gaṇa*. But none of them will however fit in exactly. The word *gaṇa* and many compounds and derivatives from it are, however, well-known in Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jaina literatures.⁴

We find proofs that starting from the general sense of 'multitude' or 'a group'⁵, the meaning of *gaṇa* was more and more specialised.

The explanations and interpretations of the terms, which traditionally found acceptance among the Gāṇapatyas, 'the worshippers of Gaṇapati,' are, however, esoteric or symbolic in character and not historic and they will be dealt with later on in section 10 (Interpretations of Gaṇeśa).

The evidences referred to are partly historical (being based on epigraphy and numismatics) and partly derived from literary sources, and may be summed up as in the following section.

SECTION 2.

A

During his Indian campaign Alexander conquered a number of independent Indian tribes, the *autonomoi poleis* of Megasthenes (Frag. XXXII), etc. Alexander had to face a formidable confederacy of some of these autonomous Indian tribes¹ headed by the Kathioi, the Oxydrakai and the Malloi mentioned by Arrian and other Greek historians, who give details of the campaign. Curtius (IX. 4) relates that the Sudracæ and Malli "were usually at war with each other but now drew together in presence of the common danger."

The rival nations cemented their alliances by wholesale intermarriages and would have offered combined resistance. But Alexander's rapidity of movement prevented these tribes who must have occupied contiguous position (cf. Kuru-Pāñcālas) from giving mutual help. The Malloi were completely crushed before the Oxydrakai could come to their assistance.

Pliny only incidentally refers in his *Natural History*, XII. 6, that the 'curious jack-fruit was especially abundant in the country of the Sydraci and that the expedition of Alexander reached its limit in the same.'

4. R. C. Majumdar; *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., 1922, p. 257, note I.

5. Compare *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat* with Śaṅkara's commentary, I.4. 12, and contrast this interpretation with the one suggested in R. C. Majumdar's *Corp. Life*, p. 12.

1. V. A. Smith: *The Autonomous tribes of the Panjab Conquered by Alexander the Great*. JRAS, 1903, pp. 699-700.

Strabo (XV. 8) alludes to the Oxydrakai by observing that 'the Oxydrakai are, they say, the descendants of Dionysos because the vine grows in their country, and because they display great pomp in their processions; and their chief princes used to go with great pomp, at the times of military expeditions and also at other times to the accompaniment of drum-beating, and they were clad in beautiful attires.' Evidently the Sydraci of Pliny, the sudracæ of Curtius and the Oxydrakai of Arrian are the same.

From Pāṇini and his commentators we know of the existence about his time of two tribes of the names of *Kṣudrakas* and *Mālavas*. The *Gaṇa-pāṭha* on *Pāṇini*, IV 2. 45, includes a *vārttika* ascribed by Patañjali to Āpiśali. Here both Pāṇini and Patañjali give rules regarding the formation of the compound *Kṣudraka-Mālavi* when military confederacy is meant. The two tribes were located in the Vāhika (v. 1. or misreading for *Vāhlika*) country, probably a part of the Panjab (Pāṇini V. 3. 114), and they formed two distinct groups of people, living by the use of arms (*āyudhajīvi-saṃgha*). Further information may be gathered from the discussions by Patañjali, and the authors of the *Kāśikā* and *Padamañjarī*. (IV. 2. 45)².

It is clear that the *āyudha-jīvins* of Pāṇini were regarded as belonging to the Kṣatriya order both by Patañjali and the authors of the *Kāśikā*, by the former impliedly and by the latter expressly; and that although the Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas formed generally two distinct but compact bodies (*saṃgha*), at some time they merged themselves into a single fighting body. Prof. Sylvain Lévi³ regards the *Gaṇa-pāṭha* as not separable from Pāṇini's grammar, and both very probably contemporaneous with the Macedonian invasion. Dr. R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar⁴ is of opinion that as the first three words at least of the *gaṇas* come down from Pāṇini himself,—the Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas were known to Pāṇini himself.

The Kṣudrakas, the Kṣudraka-Mālavas and the Mālavas are mentioned as forming part of the Kaurava host in the *Mahābhārata*⁵. Varāhaminira⁶ (6th century A. C.) speaks of the Kṣudramīnas and the Mālavas as inhabiting the Northern division, though Fleet regards the Mālavas to have been misplaced by him.

2. See *Mahābhāṣya*, ed. Kielhorn, *Kāśikā*, ed. Bālaśāstrin, and *Padamañjarī*, ed. Dāmodara Śāstrin, on Panini IV. 2.45.

3. JA, Huitième Série, Tome XV (1890), pp. 236-238.

4. Ind. Ant. Vol. XLII, 1913, pp. 199-200.

5. Pargiter: JRAS, 1908, p. 329.

6. *Bṛhat Samhitā*, XIV, 24 and 27 Ch.

Fleet thinks that the Mālavas could not be put in the "Northern division," as Varāhamihira had done, and was inclined to take Malloi as equal to Malla or Malaya⁷. But in Prākṛit *y* and *v* are often interchanged, as shown by numerous Western-Indian Inscriptions⁸.

The Greek Malloi might be derived from Sanskrit *Mālava*, the Prākṛit form being *Mālāa* or *Mālāya*. Uṣavadāta claims to have defeated the Mālayas⁹.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions the Mālavas sometimes among the Northern peoples and sometimes among the Southern. It also mentions Westerly and Northerly Mālayas. Kālidāsa does not mention Mālava (Malwa) in his *Meghadūta*. The Mālavas lived in ancient times in the North and they subsequently migrated southwards.¹⁰ This is also proved by the large number of coins discovered in the North of the present Malwa country, near the modern town of Nāgar. Probably all the coins are post-Aśokan. The legends on the coins are "*Mālavānām jaya*" "*Mālavāhṇa jaya*" and "*Mālava-gaṇasya jaya*". Some coins bear proper names, probably names of chiefs. The Mālavas might have been simply *āyudha-jīvins* or 'a people living by the use of arms' while in the Punjab during Pāṇini's time, but at the time when the coins were issued they already formed a political union and had a settled system of Government which "appears to have been republican and not monarchical ; since the legends on the coins bear the name of the tribe and its *gaṇa*"¹¹. Perhaps in the course of time the republic was succeeded by a monarchy. Another instance of a race moving from the North to the South giving their name to the countries they occupied from time to time is that of the Gurjaras.¹²

In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription the Mālavas are mentioned as one of the tribes as distinguished from kingdoms that suffered defeat from, and gave all kinds of taxes, obeyed orders and paid respectful homage to Samudragupta. During the Gupta period the Mālavas were already settled in Eastern Rajputana. The Mālavas do not seem to have played any part in political history, after the fourth century A. C.

7. V. A. Smith : *Op. Cit.*, JRAS, 1903, p. 686, note 2.

8. R. C. Majumdar : *Corp. Life*, III, p. 273.

9. *Ibid.*, and Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri : *Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd Ed. Cal. Univ., 1927, pp. 197, 306 & 309.

10. R. G. Bhandarkar : *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 200.

11. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 199-200.

12. Compare a similar transition from a Republican to Oligarchical and finally to Monarchical form of government in the case of the *Audumbaras*. See *Corp. Life*, 2nd ed., III, pp. 277 ff.

At least three epigraphic records¹³ have been found in which the word *gaṇa* is used in connection with the Mālavas. Long discussions¹⁴ have taken place regarding the exact sense of the term *gaṇa*, and its generally accepted sense is 'corporation.'

Thus the Mālavas were probably identical with the Malloi tribe of Alexander's time and also identical with or allied to the tribe of the same name mentioned by Pāṇini. Very probably they gave their names to the province of Malwa and also to the Mālava era with which they had connection in some way.

The descriptions of the Greek and the Roman writers and of the Indian authors are in complete agreement and corroborate one another. But it is now possible to offer additional evidences from linguistic sources.

Undoubtedly the Greek *Oxydrakai* is a transliteration of Sanskrit *Kṣudrakāḥ* with an euphonic vowel prefixed. With this compare the tribal name *Xathroi* and its v.l. *Oxathroi*, as given by Arrian, which look like the transcriptions of the Sanskrit word *Kṣatriya* (or *Khatṛi* according to McCrindle) an impure tribe of mixed origin.

We know of the existence in Alexander's time of independent cities of fighting Brahmanas, e.g., Brakhmanopolis, where the Malloi took refuge. There might be probably other fighting tribes or castes also, e.g., Kṣatriyas, the Xathroi (v. l. Oxathroi) of the Greeks. Perhaps the tribal names persisted down to Kauṭilya's time, who thus knows of an independent tribe called the *Kṣatriyas*¹⁵.

13. Fleet : *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 83, 87; 154, 158; *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 161.

14. *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 413-414, 745-747, 1010-1013; 1915, pp. 138 ff., 802 ff.

15. (i) Compare the following passages occurring in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya (derived from *Kuṭala* a *gotraṇṣi*; Kauṭilya is a misnomer) ed. Gaṇapati Śāstri, TSS, LXXIX (1924, 1925) XI :

काष्ठीजसुराष्ट्रचवियशेषादयो वार्ताशस्त्रीपजीविनः । लिच्छिविकवज्रिकमल्लकमद्रककुङ्कुमकुरुपाञ्चालादयो राजशब्दीपजीविनः ।

(a) The commentary of Gaṇapati Śāstrin :

के ते सङ्गिन इत्याह काष्ठीजित्यादि । काष्ठीजेषु सुराष्ट्रेषु च जनपदविशेषयोः चवियशेषादादयः । आदियहणात् वैशादियेष्वपि गृह्यन्ते । तदन्वर्गता जना इत्यर्थः वार्ताशस्त्रीपजीविनः । लिच्छिविकेत्यादि । लिच्छविकादिदेशसप्तकवासत्याः आदिपदादन्वकवृणादयश्च । राजशब्दीपजीविनः राजानमसाव' वदन्तः सङ्गमुपजीवन्तीत्यर्थः ।

(b) Mr. R. C. Majumdar interprets :

"The Kṣatriya guilds of Kāmbhoja and Surāṣṭra followed trade, agriculture and military profession."

"The Licchivikas, Vrijikas, Mallakas, Madrakas, Kukurās, Kurus, and Pāñcālas made use of the epithet of King (*rāja*)."

The interpretations of the passages require revision.

Evidently the Sanskrit Kṣudrakas are identical with the Oxydrakai of Arrian and the same as the Sudraci of Pliny and the Sudracaë of Curtius. This shows that otherwise than in ordinary Prākṛit, the *kṣ* group was pronounced in full optionally. Though, as Professor Otto Franke has pointed out, the *kṣ* (or *x*) of the Greek alphabet would also serve to represent *ch*, the Prakṛit and Pāli equivalent of *kṣ*¹⁶.

Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya has shown with some probability that *kṣudra* develops into *śūdra*¹⁷. He has pointed out many instances of the change of *kṣ*. into a sibilant (*viz.* *ś*, *ṣ* and *s*) in Indo-Iranian languages, though some European and Indian scholars are not willing to accept the identification on the grounds that the nominal form *śūdra* is found in Vedic literature and so must be old, and that the derivation would not account for the long *u* in *śūdra*, which is inexplicable. It is therefore interesting to note that the identification of *Kṣudra* with *śūdra* which is proposed by Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya on linguistic considerations seems to be rather supported by classical sources, and that evidence from both sources are mutually corroborative.

There is however other evidence also. The Kṣudra-kas were the combination of a particular section of Śudras (as indicated by the suffix *ka*), and they were associated with the Mālavas or the Mālavakas. According to *Vaijayanṭī*¹⁸, an oft-quoted *Kośa* of the tenth century A. C., the Mālavakas were 'adulterous offspring of Śūdra parents whose mother's husband was alive,' while the Mālavas were another Śūdra caste, who trained horses. The Śūdras had more likelihood of associating with a kindred people, the Mālavas or the Mālavakas.

As whole tribal organisations are possibly meant and not sections of them, *Kāmbhoja-Surāṣṭra-Kṣatriya-Śrenyādayaḥ* being contrasted with *Licchivika-pāñcālādayaḥ* it seems that the word *Śrenī* is to be compounded with each of the words *Kāmbhoja*, *Surāṣṭra* and *Kṣatriya*, for otherwise the construction will be a defective one.

(ii) K. P. Jayaswal calls these two kinds of organisations 'the King-Consul Republics' and 'the Nation-in-arms Republics'; 'the Kṣatriyas and the Śrenīs appear as neighbours in Sind in the records of the Macedonian writers. The Kṣatriyas are called by them Xathroi, European scholars have taken it as a caste denomination; that is a proper name of a political body is now disclosed by the Arthaśāstra. Ptolemy also mentions the nation or community Xathroi. Various terms have been used by classical writers to denote what seems to be Agra-Śrenīs or First Śrenīs. Apparently the Śrenīs were sub-divided into internal units.....' See *Hindu Polity*, Cal. 1924, especially p. 61.

It is therefore proposed to take Kṣatriya also as a separate tribe in the Arthaśāstra.

16. Otto Franke : *Pali und Sanskrit*, Strassburg, 1902, p. 71.

17. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya : *Pravāṣī*, 1928 B. S. Part II, pp. 297 ff; 1929 B. S. Part I, pp. 166 ff; 567; Ind. Ant. ; 1922, pp. 137-139. Mahammad Sahidullah : *Pravāṣī*, 1929, B. S. Part I, p. 275.

18. Gustave Oppert : *Vaijayanṭī*, Madras, 1899, pp. 77, 80.

We have probably evidences of the existence of other independent tribes of mixed origin (*varṇa-saṅkara*), e.g., the Ambaṣṭhas, perhaps corresponding to the Abastanoi of Arrian¹⁹.

The Kṣudrakas as a nation completely passed out of history after Pāṇini, etc. But we hear of at least two more persons called Śūdraka. The *Harṣacaritam*²⁰ mentions a king Śūdraka who killed the lord of the Cakora (a Puranic mountain) by secret emissaries. The name of another king Śūdraka is associated with the drama *Mṛcchakaṭika*, and his date is placed between the fourth and fifth century A. C. He is however expressly called a *dvija* and not a Śūdra by birth²¹.

If it be accepted that the Kṣudrakas were a Śūdra tribe, it is no wonder that they should be later no longer mentioned ; when they ceased to exist as a separate political corporation and were no longer formidable, they simply merged into the general body of the Śūdras. Possibly the political organizations of the Kṣudrakas were crushed through the efforts of the reactionary school of politicians that came later into being and is represented by Kauṭilya²², who speaks of the ways and means of destroying these political corporations. Kauṭilya does not mention the Kṣudrakas ; they might have been extinct as political power long before. Possibly the reactionary politicians chose for their first victims the political organizations of the Śūdras.

The Mālavas or the Mālavakas seem to have persisted longer, as is proved by the evidences of coins and inscriptions.

B

Inscriptions and coins attest to the existence in ancient India of cities, independent corporations, and tribes not ruled by kings, but having republican or rather oligarchical forms of government. Some *gaṇas*, as they styled themselves, used to elect their chiefs¹. Some *gaṇa* issued coins (e.g., the Yaudheyas) ; or an era was maintained by some, (e.g., the Mālavas). The *Smṛti* literature also knows of these *gaṇas* or federation of

19. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri : *Political History of Ancient India*, 1923, pp. 131-132.

20. *Harṣacaritam*, VI.

21. Dr. M. Winternitz : *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, Leipzig, Band III, p. 203.

22. R. Shama Sastri : *Kauṭilyam Arthaśāstram*, XI, 160-161.

1. Dr. F. W. Thomas : *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 413-414.

communities. The *Gṛhya-sūtras*,² the *Dharma-sūtras* and the *Dharma-śāstras* contain frequent references to *gaṇa* and *pūga*.³

Some scholars think that there are clear evidences in the *Vīra-mitrodya* and the *Smṛtis* of Yājñavalkya and Nārada that the words were used sometimes synonymously, and the general sense of these terms is a corporation ; but they were also used technically—meaning ‘a corporation of the inhabitants of a town or village’⁴. The Buddhist texts expressly refer to *pūga* as a corporation with executive authority, while *gaṇa*, *gaṇin*, *gāṇācārya*, and *gaṇarāya*⁵, were familiar terms known to the Buddhists and the Jainas. “In Buddhist writings *gaṇa* denotes a group, class or quorum, something intermediate between the Saṃgha and the individual monk⁶.” Among the Jainas also, the word has technical meanings. According to the *Abhidhāna-rājendra* (s. v. *gaṇa*) it is “*paraspara-śāṅkṣāṇām aneka-kulānām sādhuṇām samudāyaḥ*,” i.e. ‘a group of *sādhus* of different successions standing in relation to one another’ ; and according to Professor Jacobi, ‘the school which is derived from one teacher.’ The Jaina *Kalpa-sūtra*⁷ further refers to a league of nine Licchavis, nine Mallakis and eighteen *gaṇa-rājas* (confederate kings) of Kāśi-Kośalas⁸.

C

The term *gaṇa* is also used in another rarer but somewhat specialised sense. Describing the victorious campaigns of Raghu against various peoples, Kālidāsa brings him to the point when he invaded the Himālaya range saying :—

तत्र जन्यं रघोर्घोरं पर्वतीयैर्जनैरभूत् ।

Mallināth explains *gaṇaiḥ* by *Utsava-saṃketākhyaiḥ saptabhiḥ saha*, on the authority of the following text from the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhā* 27, 16) which gives an account of the *dig-vijaya* of Arjuna in the Northern quarters :—

पौरव युधि निजित्य दस्यून् पर्वतवासिनः ।

गणानुत्सवसङ्केतानजयत् सप्त पाण्डवः ॥

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2. Adolf Friedrich Stenzler : AKMG, IX, No. 1.
Wortverzeichnis zu den Hausregeln Von Āśvalāyana, Pāraskara, Saṅkhāyana und Gobhila.
 3. R. C. Majumdar : *Corp. Life*, III, p. 142, note 2.
 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-142 and pp. 230 ff.
 5. H. Jacobi : *Kalpa Sūtra*, SBE, XIII, p. 65.
 6. See note 5.
 7. See note 5.
 8. R. C. Majumdar : *Corp. Life* III, 3.
F. W. Thomas : JRAS, 1914, pp. 413 ff., and pp. 1010 ff.

Both Aruṇagiri-nātha and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita quote the same passage with another qualifying epithet *saṁghaiḥ*. In his victorious campaigns in the Western quarters Nakula vanquished a number of people including the Utsava-saṁketas¹. With the tribal name, *Utsava-saṁketa*, comparison may be made of another South Indian tribe named the *Dhvajinyutsava-saṁketas* mentioned both in the *Mahābhārata*² and the *Padma-purāṇa*.³

Now the commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, Nīlakaṇṭha has explained⁴ the name as follows :—

उत्सवसङ्केतान् स्त्रीषु संयोः परस्परप्रीतिरेव रत्यर्थं सङ्केतो न तु दाम्पत्य-
व्यवस्था पशुनामिव यत्रास्तीत्यर्थः ।

It is, however, possible to suggest another and perhaps a better interpretation as follows :—

उत्सवे सङ्केतो येषां ते उत्सवसङ्केताः ।

*Samketa*⁵ is an appointed or pre-arranged meeting-place (*rendez-vous*) for lovers. People for whom the fairs or the festivals formed such rendez-vous were probably called *Utsava-saṁketas* 'par excellence.'

1. *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparvan*, 32.

2. *Op. cit.*, *Bhīṣmaparvan*, 9.

3. *Padmapurāṇam*, III, 6.

4. *Mahābhārata*, *Vaṅgavāt* Ed. with the *Tīkā* of Nīlakaṇṭha, *Sabhāparvan*, 27, 16.

5. Compare (a) Vātsyāyana : *Kāmasūtra*, V. 4 :

एवं कृतपरस्परपरिगृह्योश्च दूतीप्रत्ययः समागमः । स तु देवताभिगमने यात्रायामुद्यानक्रीडायां जलावत-
रणे विवाहे यज्ञवासनोत्सवेष्वन्यत्पाते चौरविधमे जनपदस्य चक्रारोहणे प्रेक्षावापारेषु तेषु तेषु च कार्येष्विति
भाषवीयाः ।

The Commentary *Jayamaṅgalā*, V. 6 :

द्रव्याणामपि निर्हरे पानकानां निवेशने ।
आपानकोत्सवार्थेऽपि चेटिकानां च सम्भ्रमे ॥
वात्स्यां वेश्मनां चैव रक्षिणां च विपर्यये ।
उद्यानयात्रागमने यात्रातश्च प्रवेशने ॥
दीर्घकालोदयां यात्रां प्रीयति चापि राजनि ।
प्रवेशनं भवेत् प्रायो यूनां निष्क्रमणं तथा ॥

(b) *Padmaśrī* : *Nāgarasarvasva* with the commentary by Jagajjyotirmalla and notes by the editor Tanusukhrāma Tripāṭhī, Bombay, Gujrati Press, 1921, p. 50 :

उद्यानतीर्थनटयुद्धसमुत्सवेषु
यात्रादिदेवकुलवन्द्यनिकेतनेषु ।
चेन्नैव शिष्टयुवतौरतिसङ्गमेषु
नित्यं सता स्वनिता परिरक्षणीया ॥

(c) Viśvanātha : *Sūhityadarpaṇa*, IV. 80-81 :

Dr. Mark Collins has called attention to the uncertain and conventional nature of Indian Geography, which was allied to historical uncertainty.⁶ Neither of the great epics—the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa— was the product of one generation and the geographical materials with which they abound belong probably to many periods. The same names are found in various parts of the country and different names employed for the same place or people. The traditional and the conventional elements in Indian geography are further disturbing elements. Names appear to be handed down from author to author and used without any regard to the existence of the places and peoples concerned. The employment of ancient for modern names by a kind of literary licence is what may be called conventional. Sometime the border-line between real and mythical or fabulous geography is wholly disregarded. For the above reason, the identification of old Indian places and tribes is beset with almost insurmountable difficulties.

But fortunately there is a probable and sufficient indication of the identity of the *Utsava-saṁketas* from the Mahābhārata and Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary⁷. According to the Mahābhārata, many of the Aryan tribes living in the Vāhika and Āraṭṭa lands⁸, the Doāb and the lower hills at the foot of the Himalayas, were notorious for the incontinence of their women-folk. They lived by brigandage and were the curse of the earth. (Cf. the *Āyudha-jīvins* and the *Vrālas* of Pāṇini). They indulged in general promiscuity, and it is for this, that the sisters' sons of the Āraṭṭas and not their own sons became their heirs. They were degraded, and among them were many half-castes. They were exceedingly irreligious and never performed sacrifices. The *Utsava-saṁketas* were a group of (seven) primitive Himalayan tribes who indulged in promiscuity like the lower animals, solely for the mutual satisfaction of the sexes, and had no settled

प्रसङ्गादभिसारस्थानानि कथ्यन्ते ।

क्षेत्रं वाटी भग्नदेवालयो दूतीगृहं वनम् ।

मासान्ध्याः शमशानानि नद्यादीनां तटी तथा ॥

एवं कृताभिसाराणां पुंस्त्रीणां विनोदने ।

स्थानान्धटी तथा ध्वान्च्छन्नं कुक्षिदाययः ॥

6. Dr. Mark Collins : *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa and Daśakumāracarita*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 5 ff.

7. *Mahābhārata, Sabhāparvan*, XXVII and XXXII.

8. *Mahābhārata, Karna-parvan*, XLIV and XLV; and see Vātsyāyana : *Kāmasūtra*, II.5.

form of marriage⁹. Many such hill tribes of Northern India practising polyandry and promiscuity are known up to the present times.

They included tribes such as the Śivis who were possibly identical with the Siboi or Sibi of Curtius and Diodorus, as also many tribes who are famous even to this day as sturdy fighters or are of half-wild pastoral habits, *e.g.*, the Jats, probably identical with the Jartilas¹⁰ of the Mahābhārata. The *Gaṇas* included tribes who practise even in recent times polyandry, *e.g.*, the *Ahīrs*—possibly identical with the Ābhīras, ‘cow-herd tribes,’ of whom several are known from the inscriptions of Samudragupta and from other literary sources, *e.g.*, Vātsyāyana’s *Kāmasūtra*. Among them were tribes of mixed descent, *e.g.*, Ambaṣṭhas (not impossibly identical with the Abastanoi of Arrian) as also of Vāṭadhāna (half-caste) Brāhmaṇas. (Cf. this with the fact that the Greek chronicles name a city of fighting Brāhmaṇas—‘Brakhmanopolis’). Both the Mālavas and the Śūdrakas have been already mentioned and their origins discussed fully.

One of the most remarkable facts in connection with these *Gaṇas* is that they chiefly inhabited the tracts of Northern, North-Western, Western and Central India, *viz.*, the Panjab, Malwa, Gujarat and Sindh, extending to the North to the foot of the Himalayas as also the central portions of the United Provinces.

Another equally curious fact is that, as far as their places of habitation are concerned, the Republican *Gaṇas* and the *Gaṇas* of wild Aryan tribes almost imperceptably overlap. Probably the one class might have changed into another.

SECTION 3.

The important questions may now be broached as to whether there was any connection between these *Gaṇas* and Gaṇeśa worship, and if so, when and where, and how Gaṇeśa worship arose.

Perhaps, the primitive Aryan inhabitants of India, living in desert wastes (*maru*), mountains (*parvata*) and forests (*araṇya*)¹ were struck with awe and wonder at the tremendous power of the wild elephants. Being otherwise unable to ward off their attacks and the havoc which they wrought, or perhaps in order to assimilate for themselves this power, these

9. See Nilakaṇṭha on *Mahābhārata, Sabhāparvan*, XXVIII.16.

10. *Mahābhārata, Sabhāparvan*.

1. The *Gaṇas* are mentioned as actually inhabiting such places in the *Mahābhārata, Śānti-parvan*.

primitive wild tribes (*Vrātas*, *Gaṇas*) at first might have begun worshipping a guardian deity (*Vrātaṭṭati*, *Gaṇaṭṭati*) actually of the form of the elephant².

Probably Gaṇeśa worship arose in the regions of Northern and North-Western India which form the habitat of the elephant³. But it subsequently spread elsewhere, Southwards, Eastwards and Northwards, and the present strongholds⁴ of Gāṇapatyas are Orissa, the whole coast of Western India, and especially the Mahārāṣṭra country and Travancore⁵.

There are however further proofs that Gaṇeśa worship was rather connected with the elephants as known both from Tāntrika and Śaivāgamika texts from West and South India respectively. For the increase of elephants (which were royal beasts, belonging to the king) in the preserves and for the general prosperity of the people, the kings had to perform a ceremony called *Gaja-saṃpādana* or *Gaja-graha*.⁶

Even admitting that Gaṇeśa might have somehow some vague connection with agriculture and harvest, as has been suggested sometimes⁷, it is impossible to agree with the view that Gaṇeśa's elephant-head and trunk have their origins in the appearance of a farmer carrying on his head a load of corn-sheaf, particularly when the lower or lowest ears swing to and fro and that if two winnowing baskets, so essential at harvest-time, and the plough-share be added to the bundle, one would get forms of the elephant-head, ears and tooth of Gaṇeśa⁸. It is hardly possible if the primitive Aryan people had a well-developed imaginative power to discover such analogies. Such theories which make Gaṇeśa a composite of so many elements must, therefore, be regarded as wildly fantastic. Equally un-

2. Cf. and Contrast with this the legend of the Tiger-god of the Sundarban forest of lower Bengal, *Dakṣiṇa-rāya*. JASB, New Series, Vol. XI, pp. 175-176; Sarat Chandra Mitra: *On a Musalmāni legend about the sylvain saint Bana-bibi and the Tiger-deity Dakṣiṇa Rāya*, J. Dep. Lett., Calcutta University, 1923, Vol. X, pp. 154 ff.

3. Regarding the past and the present distribution of the elephants in India, see *Encyclo. Brit.*, 11th edition, under *Himālaya* and *Elephant*.

4. G. A. Grierson: *Gāṇapatyas* in *Encyclo. R. E.*; H. Krishna Shastri: *South Indian Gods and Goddesses*, Madras Govt. Press, 1916, p. 179. Important seats of Gaṇeśa worship: The human shrine of Gaṇeśa at Chinchvad, near Poona; Morgāon (Mayūra-grāma?) in the Bombay Presidency; Vināyaka Hills in Orissa, Babu Chandrasekhara Bannerji: *Antiquities of the Cuttack Hills*, JASB, XXXIX (1870), Part I.

5. Gopinath Rao: *Elements of Hindu Iconography*. Madras, 1914, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 44 ff.

6. See Appendix II; PT, Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, 3rd ed. Calcutta, p. 604; ISP, Part 1, 16.

7. Charu Chandra Bandyopadhyaya: *Pravāsi*, 1329, B.S., pp. 25 ff.

8. B. A. Gupte: *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1919, pp. 55-58.

satisfactory is the theory which derives Gaṇeśa from the letter ॐ or the astronomical origin of Gaṇeśa's belly in the signs of the Zodiac⁹.

In *Yājñavalkya* (I 271-94) Gaṇeśa is mentioned for the first time, where his worship is engrafted to an older *Vināyaka-śānti*. In the *Mānava Gṛhyasūtra* II, 14, an account is given of the *Vināyaka-śānti*, worship or rather propitiation of *Vināyakas*, a class of malevolent spirits. In the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* these *Vināyakas* four in number become one *Vināyaka* who is identified with Gaṇeśa and appointed ruler over the *Gaṇas* and remover of obstacles by Rudra and Brahman.

Apart from *Yājñavalkya's Vināyaka-śānti*, we find actual Gaṇeśa worship only in the modern *smṛtis*, e.g., the *Kātyāyana* I, 11-14, where Gaṇeśa is worshipped together with the Mothers.¹⁰

Six varieties of the Gāṇapatya sect are mentioned in the *Śaṅkara-digvijaya* by Ānandagiri or Anantānandagiri, as he is sometimes called, as well as by Dhanapati in texts quoted in his commentary on the corresponding work of Mādhava (Śrī Vidyāranya). At least one of them followed the left-hand path (*vāma-mārga*)¹¹ and the doctrines of all these sects are derived from S. Ind. Śaiva Siddhāntas.

In Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*¹², Gaṇeśa is first met with in classical Sanskrit Literature of the North in an exalted position as a deity. About the same time (7th cent. A.C.) Bāṇabhaṭṭa of the South first in his *Kādambarī* has a probable reference to the elephant-headed Gaṇa-pati¹³, which hardly denotes more than the chief of some group of divine creatures like the *Gandharvas* and the *Kinnaras*.

But the *argumentum ex silentio* which has been sometimes adduced to show that Gaṇeśa did not exist at the times of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra* or *Pañcatantra* and that his worship arose later in the South, among Dravidians, must be regarded as in-admissible in so far as questions of Indian chronology or literary and political history are concerned. Greater events of political and religious history have been passed off in India without the slightest reference in contemporary literature. It is possible that Gaṇeśa did not for some reasons, not exactly ascertainable

9. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 54-55.

10. M. Winternitz; *Gaṇeśa in the Mahābhārata*, JRAS, 1898, pp. 382-383; R. G. Bhandarkar : *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivaism.*, Strassburg, 1913, pp. 147 ff.

11. *Srīmacchāṅkaradigvijaya*, Ānandāśrama, 2nd ed., Poona, 1915, p. 546, Slokas 324-326 with Dhanapati's commentary.

12. Cf. the invocation (*nāṇḍī śloka*) to Gaṇeśa.

13. Cf. the following passage in *Kādambarī*, 6th ed., Nirṇayasāgara, p. 236 :

अवकीर्णमश्रुचितमग्नीक्षितगच्छन्दीर्घलनम्, अवगाह्यावतीर्थगणपतिगणस्थलगतमदप्रसवचसिक्तम् ।

now, figure in literatures of the earliest classical period¹⁴. But that was probably due to quite different reasons owing probably to Gaṇeśa worship being still confined to the lowest strata of society.

Regarding the South Indian origin of Gaṇeśa, there will be more occasions than one to speak of such attempts which connect everything inexplicable in Brahmanic history and folklore and religion to the Dravidians and the aborigines.

That the elephant and other Indian animals attracted the fancy especially of the early Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian invaders who settled in the North-Western India, are known from their bilingual coins with Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legends.

For the first time, in Indian history, the coins of the Indo-Greek foreign settlers show devices of elephant's head or elephant on one side and of club or bull on the other. At first the non-Indian devices, like figures of Pallas and Zeus are more frequently met with than the Indian ones. Gradually the Indian and the non-Indian elements preponderate alternately, so that there are coins both of purely Indian and mixed types for the same Indo-Greek or Indo-Parthian king. Finally, the purely Indian devices completely replace the non-Indian ones, in the Kushan coins, for the first time¹⁵.

It is, however, not improbable though rather uncertain that the elephant was already looked upon as sacred and that the first traces of Gaṇeśa worship are assignable to the Indo-Skythian and Indo-Parthian periods of Indian history. One may compare and contrast the appearance of the bull in Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian coins which was connected in some way with Śiva worship as Śiva shortly figures with his bull in Kushan coins of Kadphises II and Vāsudeva.

But Gaṇeśa worship is met with nearly as early as Liṅga-worship. For, the figure of Gaṇeśa must always occupy in a North Indian Śiva temple the niche to the proper right of the sanctum while those to the back and the left are to be occupied by Kārttikeya and the Devī respectively. Probably Kārttikeya being a soldier is entrusted with the protection of Lord Śiva's rear, while, Gaṇeśa being the darling of his father is always

14. Bijay Chandra Majumdar : *Vaṅgadarśana, (Navaparyāya)*, 1910, B.S., pp. 387; 601. Ramendrasundar Trivedi : *Op. Cit.*, pp. 597; 602.

15. B. B. Bidyabinod : *Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Ind. Mus., Non-Muhammedan series*, Cal., 1923, Vol. I, Coin of Indo-Gk. Lysias, Bilingual Type ;—Appollodotos, Bil.Ty. 2 ;—Menander, Bil.Ty. 3. Indo-Parthian (Mao)Maues, Bil.Ty. ;—Azes (Aya) I, Bil.Ty. 3. Kushana Huviska, Gk. legend Ty.

at the right side and the Devī as Śiva's consort always occupies a position to his left¹⁶.

In sculpture, too, Gaṇeśa often figures with the Mātṛkās¹⁷. In two of the caves at Ellora, which are to be referred to the latter half of the 8th century we have such groups of Kāla, Kālī, the Sapta Mātṛkas and Gaṇapati. Another inscribed and old relic of Gaṇeśa worship is found at a place called Ghāṭiyālā, twenty-two miles N.-W. of Jodhpur. "There is a column there, on the top of which there are four images of Gaṇapati facing the four quarters. In the opening sentence of the inscription engraved on it an obeisance is made to Vināyaka. The date of the inscription is Vikrama samvat 918=862. A.C."¹⁸

Instances are however well-known of Gaṇeśa figuring in the royal seals of independent princes¹⁹. The Kamauli copper-plate grants of Vaidyadeva were held together by a spoon-shaped metallic piece which contains the engraving of a small figure of Gaṇeśa.

A few Gaṇeśa images of note are existent in India of which the dates might be ascertained with close approximation. In the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore established by the Cola king Rājarāja I (11th century A.C.), are different forms of dancing and seated Gaṇapatis, within the main temple and also in the surrounding shrines.²⁰ A stone figure of Lakṣmī-Gaṇapati, of rather inferior workmanship, is found in the Viśvanātha-svāmin temple at Tenkāśi, built by a Pāṇḍya king named Arikeśarin Parākrama Pāṇḍyadeva in 1446 A.C. The image probably belongs to that period.²¹ The figure of Nṛtta-Gaṇapati is found at Halebidu in the Hoysalesvara temple, the construction of which is said to have been begun in 1121 A.C. in the reign of Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana. The image may therefore be assigned to the last quarter of the 12th cent. "It is a very fine piece of sculpture, perfect in modelling as well as execution and pleasing in effect"²².

16. Gopinath Rao: *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, 1914, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 47-48; Manmohan Ganguli: *Orissa and Her Remains, Ancient and Mediaeval*, Calcutta, 1912, p. 169. Kittoe: *Note on Aswastama Inscription at Dhauli near Bhuvaneswara in Orissa*, JASB, Vol. VII, pp. 435-437.

17. Gopinath Rao, *Op. Cit.*; *Sapta-Mātṛkās*.

18. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 148-149.

19. *The Kamauli Copper plate Grants of Vaidyadeva in Epi. Ind.*, Vol. II; *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti, Acārādhyāya, Rājadharmā prakaraṇa, Ślokaś 318-320 and Mitākṣarā*.

20. H. Krishna Shastri: *S. Ind. Images*, 1916, p. 176.

21. Gopinath Rao: *El. Hind. Iconogr.*, 1914, Vol. I, Part I, p. 64.

22. G. N. Rao: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 66-67.

The dates of many Orissan Temples at Bhuvaneśvara especially are also known with certainty.

Outside India proper—one of the oldest and most beautiful life size stucco figure of Gaṇeśa exists in the Tabo Monastery of Little Tibet founded about nine hundred years ago. The crude figures of Gaṇeśa from Central Asia executed in fresco and on bronze or painted on wooden panels are—none of them, probably, later than 8th Cent. A.C.²³

But in the Indian colony of Java are existent the most unique examples of Gaṇeśa images, as Kāpālīka. The one at Boro is yet more remarkable for having an inscription in *Kawi* language which gives the Śaka era of 1161 corresponding to 1239 A.C. All of these remarkable Gaṇeśa representations in Greater India and in the Indian colonies have been fully discussed below,²⁴ as their importance demands separate notice.

‘Gaṇeśa is no less popular in Nepal than in Hindustan. Lord of obstacles, he presides over all enterprises, even the most humble and the most commonplace ; without his aid not any success is possible. In addition, his peculiar and happy physiognomy attracts attention and sympathy ; his corpulent body crowned by an elephant head with big round eyes, his hands which carry a garland and a hatchet, the serpent suspended to his neck, the mouse squatting at his feet form the most amusing general effect. Everywhere associated with the cult of other divinities, he has also his own sanctuaries. The first of them is Sūrya-Vināyaka (popularly Suraj-Binaik), to the South of Bhatgaon. The name alludes according to the *Nepāla-Māhātmya* (VI) to a miracle of the deity. The son of a Brāhmaṇa who resided at the west of Doleśvara, in a wood met sudden death ; his relatives and neighbours invoked Paśupati who sent them on to the grove of Prakāṇḍa. Arrived there they saw Gaṇeśa manifest himself in a ray of the Sun (*Sūrya*), and the infant revived. The Buddhist chronicle alludes to a different legend : immediately before the reign of Amśuvarman, Gaṇeśa under the form of Sūrya-Vināyaka, appeared to the king Vikramajit and made to him gifts of fabulous riches which enabled him to found his era.

The Gaṇeśas of Nepal class themselves readily in groups of four ; after Sūrya-Vināyaka, the most popular are : Rakta-Vināyaka (the Red)

23. Francke : *Antiquities of Little Tibet* (Memoirs of ASI), p. 38, plate XVII ; Sir M. A. Stein : *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907, and *Serindia*, Oxford, 1921.

24. See Section 9. Post.

at Paśupati ; Candra-Vināyaka (the Moon) at Chobbar ; Siddhi-Vināyaka (the Success) at Sanku ; Aśoka-Vināyaka (popularly Assu-Binaik) at Katmandu.

Gaṇeśa has frequently as counterpart Mahākāla (popularly Mahankāl) 'the Great Black' who is identical with Śiva and who corresponds to the Devī Mahākālī, but who holds a distinct personality. Mahākāla carries a trident ornamented on the handle with human skulls'.²⁵

In view of the fact that many of the *Vihāras* which exist to-day pretend to trace their origin to the most remote past of Nepal²⁶, it is impossible either to accept as Oldfield²⁷ has done, or to ignore like Prof. Sylvain Lévi²⁸ the tradition which ascribes the erection of a temple of Gaṇeśa in Nepal to Aśoka's daughter Cārumatī. It however seems at least to point out the high antiquity of the cult in Nepal.

In Campā, we know that certain sanctuaries²⁹ were dedicated to Gaṇeśa. But the cult must be little developed, because images of Gaṇeśa are very rare. 'He is represented on a very corroded bas-relief of Tourane. We know of only one statue of this deity ; it is found in Cochinchina.'

Gaṇeśa seems to have held an important place, in Campā, particularly ; he had sometimes some appropriate sanctuaries in the temples of Śiva, at least in the last country ; his representations show him most often seated, with the frontal eye, two arms, in which he holds his tusk and his bowl of cakes in which he plunges the end of his trunk ; more rarely he has four arms of which one holds a garland (?) and exceptionally he is standing³⁰.

The Tympan of sanctuary F 1 of Mi-so'n contains a small figure of Gaṇeśa. The communal pagoda of Hoá-quê³¹ village situated outside the suburbs, south of Tourane is built upon a ground strewn with *Cham* ruins. There are not existent any of the temples that, a powerful *Cham* family

25. Sylvain Lévi : *Le Nepal*, Tome I, pp. 383-384.

26. Sylvain Lévi : *Op. Cit.*, Tome II, p. 24.

27. Oldfield : *Nepal*, 1880, Vol. II, pp. 198-199; Nagendranath Vasu : *The Arch. Survey of Mayūrbhañja*, Calcutta, 1911. Vol. I, pp. XXII-XXIII; *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, *Brāhmaṇa*, 130; Grünwedel : *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 183.

28. Sylvain Lévi : *Le Nepal*, Tome II, pp. 83-84.

29. Mm. Bergaigne et Barth : *Inscriptions de Campā et du Cambodge (Notices et extraits des manuscrits)*, Tome XXVII, Corpus, No. XXVIII.

30. Gaṇeśa : *Cham*, BEFEO, I, 16-17, 22; IV, 874, 880-881. BEFEO, XVI, No. 5, 53-55.

31. Gaṇeśa : *Cham*, BEFEO, XI, No. 2, 285-286; XV, 17; XIX, No. 3, 20-22; V. 62; *Cambodian, Op. Cit.* XII, No. 3, 8-9; *Indian and Javanese Op. Cit.*, XIX, No. 5, 62.

had raised here at the end of the ninth or at beginning of the tenth century. Of the statues that belonged to and represented all the Śivaite pantheon, only a Gaṇeśa is existent who lies abandoned under a tree and a Kumāra represented seated on his peacock.

Some five specimens of Gaṇeśa have been collected in the *Cham* Museum of Tourane. They mostly belong to primitive art (7th-8th centuries)³².

A few (three) Gaṇeśa images are also existent in the Khmèr Museum of Phnom Pén. One belongs to the classic period of Khmèr Art (9th-14th centuries). The exact epochs of the rest are doubtful³³.

A Gaṇeśa was the deity of the sanctuary E5 of the monuments of the Cirque of Mī-so'n. He has four arms and stands upright. His lower left arm folded up in front receives the extremity of his trunk in the bowl. The right arm supports a sort of hanging bouquet, of which the end below the arm is broken. One other seated Gaṇeśa deposited in the bank of Tourane has this attribute complete ; it exceeds the hand only by a small part, cylindro-conic. The raised back left arm appears to hold a pencil, the right a rosary. The deity has an eye in the middle of the front ; his ears are treated simply ; his left tooth is missing. He carries the Brahmanic thread executed by the serpent of which the head is knotted to the tail. His dress consists of one *Sampot* with large plaited skirts. Around his loins is seen a girdle formed by a skin of tiger ; the head and the paws which hang down are knotted together in front. The divinity carries jewels of two sorts, both of serpents or of true jewels. To the first class belong the Brahmanic thread, the bracelets of front arm, one girdle under the waist, to the second, a necklace with drops of flowers, a necklace with triple tresses and with big clasp ornamental ; the piece is executed in hard stone and with very great care. The pedestal which carries the deity is simple ; it is hollow, and the chips are held together in a curious fashion³⁴.

Literary and Archaeological evidences thus attest to the high antiquity and wide-spread prevalence of Gaṇeśa worship³⁵. The development of Gaṇeśa worship must have required centuries of evolution. Consequently,

32. BEFEO, XIX, 1919, No. 3, 20-22.

33. *Op. Cit.*, XII, 1912, No. 3, 8-9.

34. H. Permentier : BEFEO, IV, p. 875.

35. S. Watanabe : *Discovery of America by Ancient Buddhists*, in the *Young East*, Febr. 1916, Vol. I, No. 9.

though the Gaṇapati cult might have come into practice between the end of the fifth and the end of the eighth century, as has been suggested³⁶, the beginnings of Gaṇeśa worship must be pushed back at least to the Indo-Skythian and Indo-Parthian periods of Indian History, or perhaps even earlier.

SECTION 4.

But the Anthropological data which have been sometimes adduced¹ are totally insufficient to prove the Dravidian origin of Gaṇeśa. Gaṇeśa's vehicle, the Rat, might be the totem of the Orāons, but it is hardly possible for the primitive Aryan tribes to have adopted it so early and that from the folk-religion of alien people, with whom they might be often at war. Neither could Gaṇeśa be originally a Dravidian Sun-God adopted into Hindu pantheon, for the same reasons.² The only similarity of Gaṇeśa with the Sun-God might be in his splendour and colour generally conceived in the Dhyānas, to be *rakta* 'red' (as vermillion or the *Japā*, hibiscus flower) but sometimes also as *aruṇa* 'purple,' *kāñcana* 'golden', *haridrā* 'yellow,' or *muktā* 'pearl-white.' These colours are the gradual changes of hue, observable in the disk of the rising sun. But similar colour and splendour are attributed to other deities also. *cf.* *Ṣoḍaśi-dhyāna* :

ततः पद्मनिभां देवीं बालार्ककिरणारुणाम् ।

जपाकुसुमसङ्काशां दाडिमौकुसुमोपमाम् ।

पद्मरागप्रतौकाशां कुङ्कुमारुणसन्निभाम् ॥

There might have been independent developments of Gaṇeśa conception in the South as in the North and there were probably, also, mutual influences.

In the *Śiva Purāṇa*³ at least one class of the Śaivāgamas is regarded as distinctly *Veda-bāhya*. They were probably independent S. I. developments. There seems therefore to be a Dravidian or S. Indian substratum in the Gaṇeśa cult.⁴ On the other hand, there were undoubtedly strong

36. R. G. Bhandarkar : *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism*, p. 148.

1. See Notes 7, 8 and 9 under Section 3.

2. Nagendranath Vasu : *The Arch. Survey of Mayūrbhañja*, Cal., 1911, Vol. I, pp. XXII, ff.

3. *Śivapurāṇam* : *Vāyaviya Saṁhitā*. 28 Adhyāya. Śloka 11. *Vaṅgavāsī* Ed.).

4. One of the *Vindhyakas* mentioned in the *Mānavagṛhya Sūtra*, 2.14, is called *Sāla-Kaṭaṅkaṭa*. Cf. the name for Rāvaṇa's ancestress *Sāla-Kaṭaṅkaṭa*, the daughter of Sandhyā, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttarākāṇḍa*. See G. Ramdas : *Aboriginal names in the Rāmāyaṇa* in JBORS, Vol. XI, Part I, March, 1923.

Tāntrik influences at work, as we have both literary evidences and plastic examples of Gaṇeśa, worshipped even in his *Vāma* forms, as Bhairava or Kāpālīka. Besides there were Paurāṇik elements preponderating in Gaṇeśa conceptions and worship.

SECTION 5.

But the necessary and sufficient conditions are lacking to connect Gaṇeśa with any particular caste, or class of people like the Vaiśyas or the Bāniyās, as has been sometimes attempted. Cf. "He is among the most popular of Indian deities, and almost every act, religious or social, in a Hindu's life begins with an invocation to him, as do most books. He typifies not the wisdom of knowledge but that wordly wisdom which results in financial success, and thus he is particularly the God of the Hindu shopkeeper"¹.

For it is not with the Vaiśyas or the Bāniyās that Gaṇeśa worship has been associated traditionally. Compare :

विप्राणां देवतं शम्भुः क्षत्रियाणां तु माधवः ।
वैश्यानां तु भवेद् ब्रह्मा शूद्रानां गणनायकः ॥

The authenticity of the text may be doubtful², but this much is certain that Gaṇeśa worship was at first associated with people of lower strata of society like the Śūdras the so-called '*choṭa loka*' with which the word may be philologically connected and that the higher classes looked down upon Gaṇeśa with disfavour.

The injunction is laid down in Manu³ that one should not entertain at a *śrāddha* ceremony, among others, those who perform *gaṇayāgas*.

शक्नीडी श्येनजीवी च कन्यादूषक एव च ।
हिंस्रो वृषलवृत्तिश्च गणानां चैव याजकः ॥
गणानां देवतानां याजकः । गणयागः प्रसिद्धः । —Medhātithi.
चतुर्दश्यादौ विनायकादिगणयागकृत् इत्येते वर्ज्याः । —Govindarāja.

The most plausible explanation of the passage is by Govindarāja, that those who performed worship of Vināyaka, etc., were to be excluded. It

1. *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th Ed.; under *Gaṇeśa* or *Gaṇesh*.

2. The *Sloka* quoted as a text from Manu is not found in the printed editions.

3. *Manu Samhitā*, III, 64.

seems that Gaṇeśa worship was given a most unwilling recognition by the upper classes and that chiefly through fear of evil consequences. For Gaṇeśa as will be seen later on was originally a malevolent deity. The priests who performed *yajana-s* of a malevolent deity like Vināyaka might have been probably regarded as able to work evils, *Abhicāra* and were rigorously excluded.*

*The completed monograph will be published shortly in book form by the Visva-bharati Book-shop.

VISVA-BHARATI BULLETIN.

I. THE WIDER IMPLICATIONS OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION.

BY HASHEM AMIR ALI, *Sriniketan*.

The gradually increasing attention paid in this century to the village rather than to the city indicates a growing reaction to the urbanization which went on during the preceding hundred years. And, unless some new inventions or ideas obstruct this trend, we might even look forward to the next civilization as one of scattered villages instead of the vast cities and magnificent skyscrapers that mark the zenith of the factory age.

This coming change is interesting from many points of view. It is interesting as an example of social change showing as it does the thesis and antithesis inherent in social phenomena, or the cycles in human development which are a common feature of Hindu Philosophy. But it also implies that somehow or other the urban civilizations of to-day are not found to work quite smoothly and have failed to satisfy the hopes of mankind. It is this aspect of the problem which is of vast importance and of infinite complexity. Its discussion involves a comparison of different systems of economic organization; and without one being in a position to do so, it makes it necessary for one to take sides in what might essentially be a problem to which no one solution can be offered.

As I have said, the feeling is just growing. It has probably not assumed sufficiently definite shape to be expressed, at least by economists, without a tinge of apology. But what every one does feel is that this urban industrial civilization caters to one side of human nature at the expense of another. It gives us more comfort and perhaps even more pleasure, but happiness and serenity are somehow destroyed. Besides, the mechanization of culture that goes on side by side has the tendency of converting human beings also into machines: a transformation, which however conducive to efficiency, we deeply and almost instinctively resent.

It was the World War, and its still continuing aftermath that opened our eyes to the situation. Up till then capitalism with its concentration of urban industries which had been growing ever since the industrial revolution, was looked upon as the royal road to Utopia. Except for a

few voices, which for the most part cried in the wilderness, economists and statesmen looked with contentment and self-appraisal at the new world they were creating. Perhaps never before were men more satisfied with life than during the Victorian era. Never before or since did they more confidently carry their own ideas to the unresisting peoples who had come under their influence. With a zest that now seems childish and ridiculous they carried industrialization into Africa and Asia. The mechanization of industry and the subsequent economic organization, which had developed largely during the previous two centuries, they regarded as so undeniably superior to the economic organization of other civilizations that they had no hesitation in looking down upon every culture that was not based upon economic organization akin to their own.

In Western Europe production *per capita* certainly increased enormously with the use of machinery. England and Germany became the leading nations ; but along with the increase in industrial products, the need for raw materials and markets also increased. Competition between nations grew more and more. The so-called uncivilized peoples of Asia and Africa were taken possession of by the 'civilized' nations of Europe and the share of each was fixed according to the initiative and military power which each possessed. That solved the problem of raw material for the time being, but the question of markets being more difficult, could not be solved so easily. Tension increased. Nations fought. And in 1918, when the Armistice was signed, the economic structure of Europe had been ruined and along with it disappeared her self-satisfaction and confidence in the existing organization of society.

This disillusionment forms the undercurrent of World History ever since. The divergence in the courses which different Nations have followed is due to the varying conditions under which each worked.

America had been fortunate in her 'glorious isolation' and being a vast continent in itself, was not sufficiently shocked to be disillusioned. Its growth of industries under private ownership and management went on as before. Russia got a chance of overthrowing her monarchy and in the fury that had accumulated in the people, the pendulum swung from one side to the other : the aristocratic autocracy of the Czar was replaced by the plebian despotism of the Dictator. And, having to justify this, Russia embarked upon an enormous programme of development based upon industries on a vast scale controlled by the State. Italy took another course, but with the same object in view. Economic reorganization and

growth were necessary, but finding socialism unsuitable to the genius of the Italian people, Mussolini brought Fascism into existence, and through it contributed a still different theory of economic organization to a world sorely in need of stability. France found it expedient to entertain only modest desires. She was hard hit by the War, but the reparations and her peasants and crafts could keep her from starvation. The republic was maintained and industries on a fairly small scale were kept going. Similarly the newly formed democracies of South Eastern Europe reacted in their characteristic manner and launched out upon a programme of small scale industries and agricultural organization.

Asia could not escape this fever of enthusiasm and nervous haste in the reorganization of the old and the creation of the new. Japan, already on the path of industrialization, accelerated her pace. Revolution and civil wars followed by increasing mechanization of industry took place in China. India under alien rule became more and more impatient to get rid of the political bondage, while the economic situation became steadily worse. But if she too, as other Nations have done, is to contribute according to her own national genius and character, one can be almost sure that the solution she will offer will be based upon the reorganization of village life.

III

These then are the different solutions offered by different conglomerations of the human species. Which of these is to supersede all others? Time alone can show. Or perhaps, none of these will suit all conditions and all times: differences in systems will exist according to differences in time and space. Nevertheless, just as the mechanized, industrialized and urban civilization plays the dominant role in the economic organization of the world to-day, and just as the agricultural and handicraft civilization of India was the envy of the world a few centuries ago, there will always be one system that will be considered for the time being to be of the highest importance. To speculate with regard to the future is usually futile. Nevertheless, at the present time it may not be entirely useless, for I believe there are certain facts on which a plausible forecast may be based.

Take for example the case of America. What is the basis of her prosperity? Is it the economic organization itself or the conditions under which that economic organization is working? It is easy to see that,

given a growing population and an abundance of natural resources, a capitalistic industrial economic organization is bound to be highly successful. But how long can natural resources continue to yield under the enormous demand for a higher and higher standard of living and an equally increasing wastage? People ceased to go 'West' in search of gold and riches years ago, and even the last bit of really valuable virgin land was brought under cultivation during the rise of agricultural prices in the earlier years of the present century.

On the other hand the enthusiasm and haste to produce more has brought into existence inventions and machines that have become too efficient. America produces too much. And just as high blood pressure is more dangerous than a slightly subnormal activity of the arteries, so also America is realizing that it would perhaps have been better if she had had a little lower standard of living with a correspondingly higher stability. Besides the economic organization of America, still based largely upon the laissez-faire doctrine and managed by private concerns, has naturally become so complex and complicated a phenomenon that it is almost impossible for any government to control industry in the interest of the people. Most of the time it happens that industry controls the State at the expense of the governed : and this is the crux of the tragedy.

Then take Russia. Her success is stupendous. She has made her bitterest enemies and her strongest critics look with wonder at her achievements. Already she has set America wondering as to the efficiency of her own economic organization, and has, incidentally, dumped in enough wheat on American soil to disturb the markets of the 'wheat belt.' So far so good. But how long can this continue? Besides, communism is now working under one great advantage. It can avail itself of the forces which had been let loose as a reaction to the former imperialistic government. And, surrounded by capitalistic nations the Russian people are continuously on the defensive. These conditions will not always prevail and enthusiasm cannot be maintained at the present level indefinitely. Whether the communism of Russia is likely to suit the needs of the whole world and that also under normal conditions can only be settled after it has survived at least a few decades.

Next comes Italy and Mussolini's Fascism. How many strong men has this world seen! Caesar and Napoleon, Asoka and Akbar, Jhengis Khan and Tamerlane, and names without number. They built up vast empires within the short periods of their careers. But did these empires

last? And will Fascism continue to thrive after Mussolini is no more?

Japan and China too are coming to the foreground by adopting mechanized and large-scale production. But Japan has a relatively small population, and China is too large for any appreciable changes being seen just yet. Even if this mechanization of industry continues, the same problems will come up to-morrow as in the Europe of yesterday and the America of to-day. The peace of the world will perhaps again be upset and a far more grievous situation might arise than that which existed during and after the last war.

Is there any solution then, and where does it lie if there is one? As I have already said, there is perhaps no one solution. But let me give here a quotation within a quotation.

Mr. Stuart Chase, the President of the Labour Bureau Inc, and author of several well-known books, referring to the problem of over-production recently said: "This calls to mind a shattering sentence from the pen of Mr. Virgil Jordon, sometime head of the National Industrial Conference Board, and so one of the leaders of American Big Business:

'It is probable that the system of agricultural holdings and of handicraft manufacturing which existed between the breakdown of feudalism and the advent of the industrial revolution, was the most stable form of economic organization that has been so far developed—although it did not supply as high a standard of living for parts of the population as has been seen since.'

The opinion of Mr. Virgil Jordon which is quoted with approval by Mr. Stuart Chase may not be immediately accepted. Nevertheless, both of these men have attained sufficient distinction in the field of economic organization to claim a hearing.

IV.

But to come back to ourselves. Whatever the advantages and disadvantages of different kinds of economic organizations, which of them is likely to suit our own needs? Which of them is congenial to our cultural genius? Least likely to deprive us of our social heritage? Most suitable for our climate and natural resources?

I think the answer is plain. Ours is an agricultural country. Industrialism has ruined us from a distance but has not taken root in our soil. We do not have to go back, but merely to start from where we were made to leave off. Beneath the soil of our villages lie still buried the

roots of our bygone civilization. We merely have to remove the overgrown jungle and to clear away the debris of decay. The wind of freedom has only to blow and literacy has but to spread : these roots will give rise to shoots and shoots will bring forth flowers and fruits. We might once again be the model for the rest of the world.

But what if we fail? What if our dreams are futile? If peasant agriculture and crafts are thoroughly wiped out by agricultural machinery and mass production of industrial cities? What if a Utopia is built up on an economic organization exactly contrary to our own plan? Such a thing is certainly possible. But in that case we can console ourselves that Capitalism, Communism, Socialism and Fascism could not all be at the top of the list. All but one must inevitably be passed by. In that sense our efforts at building up a rural civilization too will have failed, but ours like those of others will be a glorious failure. We will have at least contributed according to our national genius and been true to ourselves.

THE DERVISHES AND THE JANISSARIES.

By JULIUS GERMANUS.

Yakub Kadri, one of the most talented Turkish writers of the new school, has created a great sensation with his novel, *Nur Baba*, and has divided the Turkish reading public into two parties. The theme of this book is the love-story of a Bektáshi Dervish and a Muslim woman, who sacrifices herself for the sake of her lover, believing that the Dervish will reach, through his love for her, the goal of all mystics : union with the Absolute. She knows that she is only a means, but she feels her role to be so sacred that she has no hesitation in surrendering her own self in order to help a God-seeking man in his realization of God. But in the end she becomes aware that the Dervish was after all a man who in his human frailty found only the woman in her ; still she does not despair, but finds solace through forgiveness and the faith which is in her own self.

Yakub Kadri's novel became popular with one section of the Turkish reading public, for it presented the Bektáshi Dervishes in a very unfavourable light. This order is regarded by many orthodox believers as heretical, because it had close relations with the Janissaries. In fact when Sultan Mahmud II annihilated the Janissary army in 1826 A.D. he also dissolved the Bektáshi Order. From this time the Bektáshis became very unpopular

even among those people who did not know anything of their past history. The Turkish reformers looked upon them as reactionaries, and sought to discredit them through active propaganda.¹

Others again considered Yakub Kadri's novel as sacrilegious for betraying the secrets of the Order and ridiculing its mysticism. The author defends himself in the second edition of his novel, and emphasizes that his only intention was to present a love-story to the Turkish reading public, and that he had taken the life of the Baktāshi Order merely as a background.

Let us examine this wonderful world of the Dervishes which is indeed of greater interest to us than the love-story of the novel. Why do they turn round and round? Why do they shout the name of the Almighty till they drop unconscious to the ground? Is that nodding of the head by which they salute their chief a divine comedy or a cynical farce? In Constantinople the *tekke* of the Mevlevis was in the very centre of the European quarters, and travellers from the West joined the crowd in the streets in watching the ecstatic dance of the Dervishes who took no notice of the curious onlookers. Their world is not of this earth. Their sole aim is to transcend the limits of the earthly life, of human reasoning and human understanding. They are seekers after God, but they do not rely on learning or reason like philosophers. Their longing is for complete cognition ; they wish to plunge deep into the knowledge gained by vision, and to be united, to be absorbed, and to be dissolved in the consciousness of God.

Religious experience has possessed an erotic and passionate element from the very dawn of civilization. In ancient times men revelled in wild Dionysian orgies in which women used to march at the head of drunken processions. When ecstasy reached its culminating point a lance was driven into the body of a goat or of a beautiful youth, and men and women as if driven by some uncanny erotic passion threw themselves on the body of the victim and drank its warm gushing blood. To the Dionysian worshippers God manifested Himself in the body of the victim, and the worshippers sought to become united with God by partaking of the flesh and blood of the victim. Mysticism had its origin in such crude beginnings. But in course of time the mystic doctrine became more and more refined in the hands of the great philosophers of Greece.

¹ Ishak Hfendi's *Kyāshf-ul esrar ve dāfi'ul eshrār* is biassed by extreme anti-Bektāshi feelings.

In the Christian world the Western Church had derived its mystic inspiration from the writings of Dionysios Arcopagita (5th Century A.D.). The mysticism of Dionysios mainly consisted in the doctrine that everything discernible by the senses is but a copy of the supersensuous. God is the source of everything. Existence begins with the knowledge of God ; baptism signifies the birth of spiritual life which attains its fulfilment in the Lord's supper. God is goodness which nourishes human spirit. God is perfect beauty not subject to change ; through Him everything becomes beautiful. According to Dionysios the soul after its experiences on earth returns to and unites with the Good and the Beautiful. This longing for assimilation is represented by Eros, the yearning immanent in every creature which drives the lover to lose himself in eternal union. Dionysios goes so far as to ascribe this amorous longing to God Himself. There is no real existence of wickedness in the Universe imbued with love. God is the eternal force which is inherent in every atom, and all life is a divine emanation. It is difficult to fit into this picture the Christian view of life, for in this doctrine Jesus and the Trinity have no place.

It is known how Michael II, Emperor of Byzantium, sent a copy of the work of Dionysios to Louis the Pious (827 A.D.) and in spite of the fact that the Greek language was unknown in Europe it sowed the seed of mysticism in the West. A few years later in 850 A.D. Charles the Bald ordered Scotus Erygena to translate Dionysios into Latin and in the 9th century this mystic lore was generally known from the Tigris to the Atlantic Ocean.

In the 14th century Germany produced some mystics of supreme power and intellect. Ekkehard and Suso received divine truths in their trances. The German language owes a great deal of the richness of its vocabulary to these mystics, and Suso was a really great poet. Before Heine nobody had written in German with such inspiration. Ekkehard sounded a note which might have been uttered by any Sufi poet. "Gott muss ich werden, und ich Gott. So ganz soll die Seele als Ich zunichte werden, dass da nichts mehr bleibt als Gott, ja dass sie euch Gott noch überstrahlt wie die Sonne den Mond." (God must become I and I must become God. Soul as I must so totally disappear that nothing but God remain, nay it must surpass in splendour even God as the sun eclipses the moon.) The saying of Angelus Silesius "Wer lauterem Herzens lebt und geht auf Christi Bahn der betet wesentlich Gott in sich selber an" (who lives with a pure heart and wanders on the path of Christ really worships God in himself)

may be compared with "Al-Hallaj: ana l-hakk:" Christian mysticism is a sublime form of earthly love. St. Augustine speaks of 'amplexus Die,' of the divine embrace, and of the passionate attraction to God, 'rapi in Deum'—for 'restless is our heart till it can ease itself in You, Oh Lord!' The mystic tendency still persists in modern German poetry. Hölderlin, K. Günderode and even the sublime Goethe were enchanted by the mystic idea of union with the Absolute.

Italian literature abounds in it. Jacopone da Todi's famous mystic poem, a dialogue between a yearning soul and Jesus, is only surpassed by the greatest master of the Italian tongue, Dante, who in his *Vita Nuova* "tried to say of Her that has not been yet said of Woman," and who in the final verses of his *Divina Comedia* touches the key note of mystic consciousness.

Had not a flash darted athwart my mind,
And, in the spleen, unfolded what it sought.
Here vigour failed the towering fantasy :
But yet the will roll'd onward like a wheel
In even motion, by the love impelled,
That moves the sun in Heaven and all stars.*

Mystic eroticism faces two ways. It may easily degenerate into libertinism, or it may rise to the loftiest spiritual heights and strive for union with cosmic forces. Mystical poetry likewise has a double aspect : besides the literal and earthly meaning of the words there lies a superhuman and mystic significance.

It was however the Greek philosophers who were responsible for the introduction of mysticism into Islam. When the Abbassides persuaded the Arabs to translate the works of Greek philosophers, Plato and Aristotle immediately captivated their imagination. Plotinus, who was simply called Ash-shaikh-u-Yunani (the Greek Master), gave them the doctrine of emanation which was later embellished with characteristically Islamic features.

In course of time mysticism in Islam showed almost a parallel development with mysticism in Christianity. The dance of the Dervishes to the monotonous chanting of mystic phrases is aimed at a complete withdrawal from the life of the earth and a rapturous union with the Supreme Beloved.

This is the world in which the Dervishes live. It is true that the mystic ideas were originally borrowed from non-Islamic sources, but in the course of time considerable additions were made, much of which was Islamic in character. Gradually, saintly leaders gathered round these mystic groups which later developed into permanent sects. In this way the Dervish fraternities became organised into powerful communities. Saints or miracles have no place in orthodox Islamic doctrine, but owing to the outcrop of the primitive belief in superstitions Islam was compelled to recognize the *Walīs* and their *karamats*. The Dervish Orders became the refuge of old faiths and superstitions which were disguised under the garb of a mystic philosophy. In the tenets of the Dervish Orders we find a curious mixture of poetry, philosophy and primitive superstitions.

Wali who stands near to God, perforce must perform miracles. And naturally many miracles are ascribed to Hajji Bektash, the supposed founder of the Order. One of his rivals Seyyid Mahmud Hayran, gathered 300 naked Dervishes around him, rode on the back of a lion, grasped a snake as a whip and marched against Hajji Bektash. Bektash saw in a dream his opponent approaching him and said to his followers: "Oh Dervishes! it is easy to tame a beast and to ride it. It requires a real miracle to endow inanimate bodies with motion." Thereupon he jumped upon a rock and using it as his steed marched again Hayran.¹ So many legendary stories² have gathered round the personality of Hajji Bektash that the story of his real life is quite nebulous. Among Turkish historians only Ashikpashazade (1400-1486 A.D.) mentions him. Our only authentic information is that Bektash was born in 1248 A.D., came to Asia Minor in 1281, and died there at the age of 92 years. Later chroniclers have merely copied the legends from one another until they have grown into a mass of pseudo-historic literature.³ According to a very well-known legend Hajji Bektash blessed the Janissary or the new army created by Sultan Orkhan. It is said that when Bektash put his hand on the head of an officer, the broad sleeve of his cloak fell down the back of the officer's head on to his shoulder. The broad strip, somewhat like the *adhba* of Indian turbans, which hang from the felt cap of the Janissaries, is believed to have its origin in this fact. Ashikpashazade, whose great

¹ Ali: *Tārikh-i-Alt-Osmān*, Virāni Bābā : Ghazel. Vienna Libr. Ms. 1993.

² Köprülüzaade Mehemed Fuād : *Ilk Türk mütesawwiflar*, 58.

³ Ahmed Jevdet : *Tārikh-i-Osmāni* XII. 208; Neshri : *Jihānumā*; Ali : *Tārikh*, 34; and also based on them Hammer : *Gesch. d. Osmanen*, I. 97.

grandfather Ilyas Baba was a contemporary of Hajji Bektāsh, denies that Bektāsh had anything to do with the establishment of the Janissaries or that he had ever been admitted to Sultan Orkhan's presence. He believes that the Bektāshi Dervishes had borrowed their white felt caps from the Janissaries and not the contrary. He denounces the Bektāshis as *zindik*s and blaspheming rascals, who are enemies of every honest Muslim.⁴

Legend connects the Turkish Bektāshi Order with Ahmed Yasawi (d. 1167). This story cannot be authentic, for there was a gap of more than 100 years between Hajji Bektāsh and Yasawi, but it shows that Yasawi enjoyed such high honour among the Turks that they tried to enhance the reputation of the Bektāshis by ascribing to them relationship with Yasawi. Ahmed Yasawi had used the Turkish language as his medium for the propagation of his teachings and when the Bektāshis some 100 years later also adopted the same medium in their poetry it gave rise to a comparison and a connexion.

The Yaswai Order and the mystics who followed him observed a curious rite, known as *zīkr-i-erre*. While the Mevlevis turned like the celestial bodies round God, the Yasawīs strove to narcotize themselves with shouts which emanated from the lungs. The origin of this form of *zīkr* is usually traced back to a legendary dialogue between Eliyah and Ahmed Yasawi.⁵

This *zīkr* may be described in the following way: The Dervish places his two hands on his thigh, draws his breath down deep below his navel and says "ha". Then he turns his breath around his navel and shouts out "hi". Meanwhile his head, shoulder and waist come up to one level. This form of breathing gives a sound like the sawing of wood. The pious "zakir" is said to be sawing on the plank of the heart in order to polish it thoroughly.

In Asia Minor there still exist some strange people called "*tahtaji*" (plank-sawyers) whom Kunos thinks to be a Turkish tribe,⁶ while Jacob identifies them with the Bektāshis.⁷ These *tahtajis* are tradesmen and belong as lay-brethren to the Bektāshi Dervish Order. It is probable that they used to practise the yoga-breathing described above and were per-

⁴ *Tevārikh-i-Āli-Osman*, 204.

⁵ Huseini : *Jawāhir-ul-abrār*, 72 and 229. Köprülüzade Mehemed Fuād : *İlk Türk Mutesawwiflar*, 119.

⁶ *Nyelvtud Közlem.* 22. vol. 113.

⁷ Jacob : *Bektaschijja*.

secuted by orthodox Muslims which led to their attachment to the Dervish Order.

There is only one thing that can be gathered from the legends with certainty, and this is that the Bektâshis Order was not formally organized by Hajji Bektâsh and that it is not a Sunni sect.

The Bektâshi Order included among its tenets all those thoughts and ideas which were current among the people of Asia-Minor, and as these ideas were opposed to orthodox Islamic doctrine it became necessary to hide them under the cloak of Islam in order to secure the toleration of the Ulema and the Turkish Government.

In the Eastern part of Asia-Minor there live some one million people called *Kyzyl-Bash*⁸ or red-heads. We may identify these Kyzyl-Bash with the remnants of the original inhabitants of Asia-Minor. These Kyzyl-Bash and the extreme Shiite Ali Ilahi sect which came over to Asia-Minor from Persia show many similarities with the Bektâshis: they exhibit a very friendly attitude towards the Christians, believe in the transmigration of souls, adopt the mystic explanations of letters and numbers like the Hurufis, accept the trinity and deify Ali. The Kyzyl-Bash discountenance the veil and polygamy.

The Bektâshis in addition to the above customs subscribe to the doctrine of neo-Platonic mysticism which they gathered toward the end of the 15th century. However as they were obliged to comply with the requirements of orthodox Islam they invented legends which brought them into connexion with the *Ashab* of the Prophet and other well recognised Muslim walis.

The Bektâshi Order admits also lay-brethren, and as in Turkey every guild recognized a pir and bound itself to some Dervish Order, in Asia-Minor and in Albania whole districts confessed themselves Bektâshis, so that the Order might rightly be called a sect. The Kyzyl-Bash cling to the Bektâshi tenets while the Muslims regard them as *zindik*s, because they are a half Christian, disorderly, ungodly folk. In their religious rites there are vestiges of the Holy mass, or confession of sins, and of the Lord's supper. In the ceremonies of the Kyzyl-Bash and the Bektâshis wine and bread play a prominent part. Grenârd describes⁸ the midnight service of the Kyzyl-Bash in the following way. The priest signs psalms accompanied by music to the honour of Ali, Jesus, Moses and

⁸ Une secte relig. d'Asie Mineure, les Kyzyl. Bash. Journ. Asiat. X. 3. 1904. 511.

David, then dips a wicker branch into water, prays over it and then distribute the water thus hallowed among the congregation. The believers confess their sins as the first Christians did. The priest allots them various punishments in the form of payment in kind or money. Afterwards they put out the light and begin to lament over the perpetrated sins. When the lamps are lit up again the priest absolves them, takes a cup of wine and several slices of bread, blesses them, soaks the bread in the wine and distributes it among the shriven and absolved believers. People of ill-repute cannot take part in the ceremony (excommunication).

It is obvious that these rites are of Christian origin. Ishak Efendi (Kyášhif-ül-esrâr) describes a similar ceremony held by the Bektâshi Dervishes. "The pir placed before each Dervish a cup of wine, a slice of bread and a piece of cheese. When he enters the room the Dervishes receive him with humble respects and when he hands them the bread they touch their forehead and eyes with it before eating it. It is a custom among the Bektashis that their pir absolves them from sins as the Christian priests do. This absolution is communicated in a singing tone to the sinner."

Luschan⁹ writes about the Tahtajis (plank-sawyers) that they begin their ceremonies in the evening with song and dance and end it at night with contrition. They sing monotonous melodies and repeat them till a long-deceased Baba (pir) or Ali himself appears to a member of the community and communicate his views on some religious question by hypnotism. The pir conjures the sins of the believers into a stick covered with rags which they carefully burn.

Kanneberg¹⁰ regards the Kyzyl-Bash as the aborigines of Asia-Minor who turned Musulmans only by fright, and secretly keep their previous Christian cult alive. Their nightly orgies are a memory of the Lord's supper. The 40 days' retirement and fasting (chile) customary in most Dervish orders corresponds to the Christian Quadragesima.

The Bektâshis were notorious wine drinkers. They called the wine-drinking: *dem chekmek*, to "take in the breath" as if they would inhale the divine spirit with the daughter of vine. Before they lift the glass to their lips, they make the sign of the cross in the air with it.¹¹

⁹ Die Tahtadschi und and. reste d. alten Bevölkerung Lykiens. Arch. für. Anthropol. 1891.

¹⁰ Jacob: Bektaschijja, 36.

¹¹ Jacob: Bektaschijja, 37.

The position of women among the Kyzyl-Bash and the Bektáshis is different from that among orthodox Muslims. Most of the Bektáshis are bachelors. This state is traced to one of their pirs, Balim Baba. Bektáshis used to bore the lobe of their ear and put a ring into it at the threshold of his *mezár*.¹² Turks speak disparagingly of the Bektáshis in regard to their relation with women and suspect them of all kinds of orgies. It is a fact that Muslim women always had access to the Bektáshi *zikrs* where they did not cling to the wearing of veils.

Besides elements of Christian origin we can clearly trace Shiite tendencies in Bektáshi doctrines. The teachings of Persian Shiites spread to Asia-Minor and were absorbed in Bektáshi tenets. The Bektáshis believe (contrary to monotheistic Islam) in the Trinity of Allah, Mohammed and Ali. Virani Baba, one of their foremost poets, identifies Ali with Allah on the basis of Koran II. 255. (*Huwa'l-'Ali'l-'Azim*). They have affinities with the Ithna-ashariya sect, and the Twelve Imams play the role of the twelve Christian apostles. The number 12 is expressed in their rites by their 12 cornered hall in which the ceiling is divided into 12 sections and is supported by a column of 12 edges. Their turban had 12 sections sewn together. Even the dualism of Zoroastrianism is faintly reflected in their ideas as they oppose the infinite love of God (*tevella*) to the hatred against the wicked spirit (*teberra*). The wicked spirits also include the enemies of Ali.

These elements which were derived from other religions became mixed with ingredients which were an inheritance from pre-Christian times. The mystical correspondence of numbers which had appeared as the essence of life to the Pythagoreans crops up again in the teachings of the Ikhwan as-Safa who attributed to the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet and to the 9 Indian numbers significant importance in the working of the Universe. They believed that the Shariat of Islam is most perfect because the 28 letters form the most complete alphabet. This idea was carried a step further by Fazl Ullah (executed by the son of Timur Lene in 1401 A.D.): as the Persian alphabet consists of 32 letters, he found the final revelation in Persian Shiitism.

It may appear strange to us but the Hurufis believed it implicitly that letters and numbers are but symbols of the forces which govern the world.

¹² Sāmi : *Kāmus-i-Ālam*, Bektásh.

Man is the book of God as the Koran is. There subsists between each letter of the Koran and man a mystical algebraic connexion. The theory of algebraic connexion has been developed with great minuteness. The modern Babis and Bahais consider the number 19 to be sacred and operate with it in the same way as the Hurufis.

This mystical doctrine of letter and number symbolism began to fade towards the end of the 15th century, but it has been perpetuated in the mysticism of the Bektáshis. The most significant part of the Hurufi literature is the work of Turkish Bektáshis¹³.

The Bektáshis believed in the transmigration of souls but distinguished between the human and animal soul.

These are the ideals which formed the spiritual world of the Bektáshi Order. They, like some Asiatic freemasons, advocated the reconciliation of sects and religions. On the other hand they have taken part in every anti-Government movement, and have given ample cause to be considered as destructive forces. Their political attitude was often vacillating. They sided with the Shiite Sofi dynasty and revolted (1416, 1492 and 1511 A.D.) in league with the wandering Kalender Dervishes. In 1526 Sulejman the Great got into serious trouble with them. A Dervish called Kabiz taught in Constantinople that Jesus should be considered to be superior to Muhammad and was killed by orthodox Muslims for his heresy.

The Bektáshis came to be generally suspected by the pious. Their nightly secret gatherings were regarded as orgies where all kinds of illicit practices were perpetrated. Sir Paul Rycaut, delegate of Charles II, wrote of them in 1661 that they were "incestuous people called mumsconduren (Turkish: mum söndüren: candle extinguishers) for they put out the light and commit immoral acts in the darkness."

After the repeated disturbances of the Bektáshis had been put down and they had fallen into great disrepute, they thought it wise to seek alliance with the Janissaries. The soldiers, mostly kidnapped Christian children, were by no means sentimental characters. In the beginning they did not marry. Without any family ties and without patriotic feeling it was only the hope of booty that maintained some kind of discipline in their ranks. Such an army could easily turn into as dangerous a weapon against its master as it proved to be to its enemies on the battle-field.* The Janis-

¹³ Browne: Some Notes on the Lit and Doctrine of the Hurufi Sect. Journ. Asiat. Soc., 1898. Browne: The Hurufis and the Bektáshi Order, Journ. Asiat. Soc., 1907.

saries were always foremost in palace revolutions, and the Bektāshis readily discovered their natural brethren-in-arms in them. This alliance was congenial to the Christian-Shiite learnings of the Bektāshis, and commanded respect even from the orthodox. It was this alliance which in the end of the 16th century was responsible for the legend that the Janissaries were "the sons of Hajji Bektash", and that this intrepid army started its career as a pugnacious Dervish Order.

Most of the Turkish guilds were lay-brethren of some Dervish Order. These lay-brethren were not initiated in the mystery of the Order but were ritually connected to it. As already pointed out the Bektāshis strove, in order to counterbalance their unpopularity, to gain the Janissaries as their lay-brethren. Later, when the connexion had been firmly established, a Bektāshi Baba officially lived in the Janissary camp. After that the Bektāshis always took the initiative in the revolts of the Janissaries. In war it was the custom for the Dervishes to harangue the fighters, pray for victory and even sacrifice their lives on the battle-field. Ishak Efendi, however, brought the charge against the Bektāshis that they encouraged the Janissaries only in palace-revolutions against the Government, but when the Muslim marched against the enemy they slinked away to the taverns and wandered on to the paths of the devil. In 1690 a Bektāshi delivered a defeatist speech on the battle-field: "Oh you idiots, why do you sacrifice your lives for nothing? You are deluded by nice words and they speak to you of death as of some great merit for which you will receive a heavenly reward. All this is vain talk. The Turkish Sultan is revelling in his palace, the Frank King amuses himself at home, and you shed your blood away!"

The orthodox Turks despised these pacifistic, destructive, enraptured mystics whose fate it was to find neither God nor themselves on earth because "they drank wine, because they recognized the prophets of the *kafirs*, because they put out the lights, because they were *zindik*s." But among these *zindik*s there were also such honest men as left a rag lying in the dust of the road for three days and when they saw that nobody wanted it, they took it to mend their torn cloak with¹⁴.

The history of the Bektāshis in Turkey ends with the dissolution of their Orders by the New Republic. The hero of Jakub Kadri's novel yearned for love that he may behold the Divine Beauty. He stumbled

¹⁴ Vīrani Baba : Nazm u Nastr, 9.

on his way, but the woman perceived the man in him and forgave him. Although the Dervish missed it, she entered the fragrant garden of Goodness where at peace with self she lives with her enigmatic smile on the lips. "He that is without sin among you let him first cast a stone at her.

